
THE CANADIAN FORUM



CHILDREN AND ART

By Arthur Lismer

INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

By P. Kodanda Rao

THOMAS WOLFE

By Charles I. Glicksberg



John Cripps

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MAYBE BELLAMY WAS RIGHT?

By C. M. Lapointe

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MOUNTAINS AND MICE

NO nasty, low-minded cynic has ever propounded a more cynical theory about the real nature of our Canadian politics than that presented by idealist Mr. King in the last election when he told the voters that our federal system will only work satisfactorily if we have governments of the same political party in both Dominion and Provinces. But the theory does not seem to have worked very well at its first practical application. The much-heralded Dominion-Provincial conference seems to have produced about the same amount of practical agreement on action as a European disarmament conference. The net result is that Dominion and Provinces have not disarmed. Ottawa agrees to take over a larger share of the relief burden, and this is certainly an advance on the niggardly refusal of the Bennett government to recognize that relief is a national problem. But it is clear that the decision also means a defeat of those in the provinces who were calling for a public-works program to absorb the unemployment. On all other points the delegates reported progress in exploring opposed points of view that had already been minutely explored; or else they reported an agreement "in principle", which is, of course, the standard European diplomatic phraseology for saying that they couldn't agree.

In these circumstances the Liberal newspapers have been hard put to it to produce any accounts of the conference's achievements that would sound plausible. The Winnipeg Free Press appears to have performed this feat most skillfully. Its summing up of the results on the constitutional question is a masterpiece of euphemism: "The constitutional problem has been solved by agreement that the B.N.A. Act must be transferred from London to Canada and made subject to amendment by purely Canadian action. The formula remains to be worked out but is regarded as a difficult though minor detail." Of course there has been no difficulty since 1926 about taking over from Westminster the process of constitutional amendment if we want to do so; the real trouble is in finding the formula for that "minor detail," i.e. in devising an actual process of amendment which will satisfy nationalists and provincial righters alike. Mr. Lapointe produced a formula in the 1927 Dominion-Provincial conference. Mr. Roebuck produced another one at this

conference which is much too complicated to be understood by anyone save a constitutional lawyer. Other formulae were suggested by various experts to the committee on the B.N.A. Act at the last session of the Dominion Parliament. But decision seems as far off as ever.

A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

IT may turn out, however, that the recent conference has set a precedent which will be more important than any of its particular decisions on specific points. It agreed to continue some of the most difficult discussions, notably those on finance and on constitutional amendment, through committees which will meet and prepare agenda for another conference. If in this way the practice becomes established of making these Dominion-Provincial meetings into what is practically a regularized continuous conference, a very useful new convention will have been added to the working of our constitutional machinery. The first provincial conference was held in the 1880's and was so obviously engineered by a group of Liberal prime-ministers in the provinces for the purpose of embarrassing the Dominion Government that Sir John Macdonald refused to have anything to do with it on behalf of the federal authorities. Gradually from this inauspicious beginning the practice has grown up of holding conferences between Dominion and Provinces from time to time at irregular intervals. Considerations of party politics have always been too influential in determining the course of these conferences. If this new machinery of continuing committees of administrative experts is added to the meetings of the political leaders the conference may develop into a vital part of our government. Obviously it is better that controversial questions which are also highly technical in nature should be handled by administrative experts while they are still in a fluid condition and can be dealt with in a fairly dispassionate manner, rather than that they should be neglected until popular passions have collected about them. Most of the questions which arouse such flights of provincial-rights or nationalist oratory are in their origin simply problems of good administration. If Mr. King and Messrs. Lapointe and Dunning can get some of these matters satisfactorily settled by the new technique of expert committees which they are inaugurating they will deserve the commendation of all Canadians.

DEBT CONVERSION

MR. HEPBURN'S proposal to effect a general reduction in the interest rates on provincial and municipal debts by means of a new loan with a dominion guarantee attached to it was clearly one of the most sensible and business-like propositions to come before the conference. The burden of public debt is becoming unbearable and we must cut down either the principal or the interest part of it. According to the figures of Professor D. G. MacGregor, as quoted in the *Toronto Star*, it now amounts, in billions of dollars, to: Federal, \$2,861; Railway, \$1,087; Provincial, \$1,328; Municipal, \$1,408; making a total of \$6,684,000,000. The habitual outcry of our financial community at any proposal of the Ontario Premier nowadays is that he is endangering the credit of the country. But obviously the future capacity of our governments to borrow (i.e. their credit) depends upon the judgment of lenders as to their capacity to meet the enormous debt burden which at present is leading to unbalanced budgets everywhere. Our bankers have got into the habit of crying "Wolf! Wolf!" at every proposal of change. They raised the cry over Mr. Bennett's first proposal of a central bank. They are raising it now over proposals to cut interest rates. They will undoubtedly raise it again when Mr. King goes on to nationalize the central bank. They should beware lest their cries of alarm over these comparatively minor improvements in our financial system produce such an attitude of skepticism that the public will refuse to listen to them when a major change looms up, such as that of nationalizing our whole banking system. For the truth is that they are slowly undermining their own credit with the community by their preposterous panic over every alteration in the rule-of-thumb financial methods in which they were trained.

But Mr. Hepburn's proposal for a dominion guarantee has consequences which the province of Ontario is apparently unwilling to accept. If the dominion is to assume the responsibility of seeing that all provincial and municipal administrations meet their obligations at the new interest rate, it must clearly have the power to supervise and control their financial transactions in future. Otherwise it may find itself called on to implement its guarantee owing to some extravagant procedure by some local government which it cannot check. All this points to the setting up of something like the Australian Loan Council, which is presumably what Mr. Dunning is aiming at. But an effective federal control over provincial and municipal expenditures means a far-reaching and potentially revolutionary change in the balance of power within our federation. And it is a government of the Liberal party, the party of provincial rights, which is heading in that direction! The alternative to some such central control over provincial finances is to amend the B.N.A. Act so as to give the provinces greater and more expansible sources of revenue. The only source of revenue that appears in sight is the income tax. But economists have often pointed out that to transfer the income tax to the provinces would chiefly benefit Ontario and Quebec, who are not in any great financial difficulties, and would not be much use to the outlying provinces, who are the ones facing bankruptcy.

THAT OIL EMBARGO

THE little flurry over Mr. Lapointe's announcement that when Mr. Riddell, at Geneva, proposed an oil embargo against Italy, he did so without authorization from the Canadian Government, has now died down, but the incident has left some worthy persons in a rather ridiculous position. The significance of the announcement was wildly exaggerated. After all, the Canadian government did not say that it would refuse to join in imposing an oil sanction should such action be decided upon by the League; it merely announced that it was not taking the lead in proposing such action. The sudden outburst of our Conservative loyalists over Mr. King's simultaneous betrayal of Empire solidarity and League obligations was chiefly instructive in showing that their zeal for the League only flares up when they see the League as a convenient instrument of British policy. Now that the British government has itself betrayed the League by the strange Hoare-Laval proposals, our Canadian imperialists are left with the choice of either summoning us to stand behind Britain (i.e. Conservative Britain) as usual or starting a campaign for their new-found idol, the League. And they have suddenly become as silent as they were vociferous.

The Lapointe announcement was simply in accordance with the regular policy of all Canadian governments since the war. From the time when Sir Robert Borden objected to Article X in Paris, all Canadian governments have made it clear to the world that they do not intend to allow our position in the League to involve us in overseas military commitments. In this present Italo-Ethiopian crisis the British government had been skilfully manoeuvring Canada into a prominent place before the Geneva footlights. The line which separates military from economic sanctions depends entirely upon the reaction of the power against which sanctions are being imposed. If we take the lead in proposing an oil embargo against Italy and if Mussolini retaliates against this by force, then the economic sanction has passed into a military one unless the League backs down ignominiously. But if the step which leads to war has been proposed by Canada, how can we refuse when Britain invites us to stand by her in seeing the war through? British imperialism will be delighted if it can get Canada morally committed to backing it up in the next European war. Messrs. King and Lapointe very wisely decided not to walk into the spider's parlor on this particular occasion.

A REAL ISOLATIONIST

CERTAIN eminent if non-official Liberals who have become very fervent about our international obligations are a little too apt to accuse everyone who takes a different view of the League Covenant and of the balance of forces in Europe than their own of being an isolationist. They might direct some of their righteous indignation upon some members of their own party. Major C. G. Power, for example, is a not unimportant member of the present Liberal government. Here is what he had to say about Europe and the League in 1919 when the peace treaties were being discussed in

our House of Commons (Hansard, 1919, Vol. I, p. 230). "There is one more reason for rejecting the Covenant which I cannot pass over . . . We as Canadians have our destiny before us not in continental Europe but here on the free soil of America. Our policy for the next hundred years should be that laid down by George Washington in the United States for the guidance of his countrymen—absolute renunciation of interference in European affairs—and that laid down by the other great father of his country in Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier—'freedom from the vortex of European militarism'. I believe this policy to be the true expression of a greater Canadianism. I believe the people of Canada will approve of this policy, namely, to let Europe be the arbiter of its own destiny while we in Canada, turning our energies to our own affairs, undertake our own peaceful development."

DISTRIBUTION OF CANADIAN WEALTH

THE maldistribution of wealth in this country, as in all other capitalist countries, is a fact which cannot be denied. Conservatives, however, are always very reluctant to admit its extent. One interesting sidelight on this question is provided by some information which was not available to the public until recently. This concerns the distribution of the funds in savings accounts in our banks. The table below (see Canada Year Book, 1934-35, p. 972) shows the distribution of savings accounts according to size of the individual deposit on October 31, 1934. It is interesting to note that there were more than four million savings accounts in Canadian banks on that date or almost two for every household. All these accounts are not necessarily of individuals but doubtless the large proportion is of this character. A great many individuals, of course, have more than one bank account, but, on the other hand, many persons have none.

Distribution of Savings Accounts in Canadian Banks, October 31, 1934

Size	Number	Value	Average Value	% of Total No.	% of Total Amt.
\$ 1,000 or less	3,765,971	\$416,528,692	\$ 111	93.1	30.5
1,000-\$ 5,000	246,057	485,695,559	1,974	6.1	35.6
5,000- 25,000	28,896	249,589,678	8,638	.7	18.3
25,000- 100,000	1,853	82,550,359	44,550)	6.0
100,000 or over	390	131,626,199	337,503)	9.6
Total	4,043,167	1,365,990,487	338	100.0	100.0

There were 4,043,167 accounts in the banks with a total value of \$1,365,990,487 or an average of \$338 per account. Slightly more than 93 per cent. of the number of accounts was under \$1,000 and the average value of this group was \$111. Although 93 per cent. of the accounts was in this class their aggregate value accounted for only 30.5 per cent. of the total value of all savings accounts. We also see from the table that 6.1 per cent. of the accounts had a value from \$1,000 to \$5,000 and that this group constituted 35.6 per cent. of the total amount of savings deposits. Accounts of more than \$5,000 formed less than 1 per cent. of the total number but had almost 40 per cent. of the value. In the

group over \$100,000 there were 390 accounts which had slightly less than 10 per cent. of the total amount. These 390 accounts had an aggregate value of \$131,626,199 and an average value of \$337,503, which is a considerable amount of money to be left drawing interest in a savings account.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE chief characteristic of the British "National" Government is that, when elected on a definite policy, it immediately proceeds to do the exact opposite. It won the 1931 election to keep the country on the gold standard, but abandoned gold within a month. Returned to power this time on a policy of sanctions and loyalty to the League, it has, again within the month, sponsored the Hoare-Laval peace plan which betrayed both Ethiopia and the League. But whereas in 1931 they could not help themselves and calmly adopted the policy of the opposition, this time there was no such excuse or expedient, and they had to fall back on the plea of secret information (always available to a government in difficulties, but not always convincing) which apparently made it imperative to give Italy a large slice of Ethiopia and control over most of it. If Sir Samuel Hoare was alone responsible, why defend him for a week before throwing him over? If he was not, he is a convenient scapegoat. In either case the government's action was shifty, desingenuous and disloyal. One doubts whether even Mr. Baldwin's reputation for bluff honesty can survive it entire. His country's reputation for perfidy is certainly strengthened.

Meanwhile Anthony Eden seems to be almost begging the League to throw out the plan. It may be encouraging to see France and England preventing their Prime Ministers from getting away with it, but we should not forget that Mussolini's friends in those countries have scored another success: effective sanctions are again delayed. Whereas clearly a policy of sanctions is absurd unless they are swiftly applied. One is left wondering whether the Conservatives of England and France are not scared that Mussolini may fail through their action. The alternative might be Socialism, or even Communism. And that, of course, would never do . . . for the Conservatives.

OUR MASTER'S VOICE

Mens Sana

When asked why he chose the brokerage game, he replied, with a twinkle in his eye: "I was born an Anglican, I was born a Conservative, and I guess I was just born a broker, too."—Biography of a Toronto broker in *The Financial Post*.

What more could one wish?

Quintessence of Hollywood

The Hollywood party took along two baggage cars loaded with equipment. Cameras will be set up in dozens of directions to catch the quints at play, at their meals and perhaps learning to say their prayers.—Hollywood Despatch in *Daily Press*.

And if they haven't learned, by God, Hollywood will learn 'em!

Social Note

Greatest ensemble slugging match of all time is promised in "Lonesome Pine" film. Shooting of this fight called for several hospital engagements.—Film note in *Toronto Star*.

Oh, these nurses!

With the Attendant Doctors Hesitating to Bring Television -- That Latest Wonder-Child of Our Age --- Out of Its Protective Incubator,
May One Wonder Idly if After All . . .

MAYBE BELLAMY WAS RIGHT?

C. M. LAPOINTE

PERSPICACIOUS people, who are confident of the recuperative powers of our economic system in the face of the keening of assorted medicine men, have founded their wishful hopes upon the possibility of some new industry supplying the expansion which unexploited areas abroad no longer afford. These individuals point to the appearance of the automobile at a critical juncture in American industrial development and how, under the magic formula of Ford, it grew from a luxury wing of the carriage trade until it came to share place with delectable poultry as a symbol of prosperity: "Two cars in every garage . . ."

Further, when the impetus of the motor industry's expansion began to lose headway, the business world was saved by the appearance of a new development upon whose spreading waves finance was able to float to new stratas of the empyrean. Radio as a popular adjunct to living took the place of the auto as the avenue of growth through which an economic system beset by its own constrictions was able to find new life.

Having all this clearly in mind while Left-wing economic publicists are enthusiastically pointing to the bafflement of the price-profit system in the maze of closed markets, the optimists of capitalism have looked confidently about for human inventive powers to offer new channels of expansion. Their hopes have been fixed on two developing lines of modern applied science: air-conditioning and television.

From its application to office buildings, through wide use in some specialised industries such as the printing trade where weather-to-order is of especial commercial value, air-conditioning has been recently appearing as a general commodity, if still in the luxury class done up in a fancy cabinet like a radiator—or a radio.

TELEVISION, according to Merlin H. Ayelsworth, president of RKO, is ready for the country. In Germany and Great Britain regular television broadcasts have been going on for several years—as much in the name of experimentation as in actual service but nevertheless a practical working proposition. It has been possible to broadcast from the racetrack to a theatre the finish of the Derby so that, aside from some demands on the imagination, which had to impress on the beholder the fact that jockeys and horses, not camels, were being seen, the event could be witnessed miles from the actual scene. Today as a result of the experience acquired through experiment and practice, television, as far as broad-

casting from station to receiver is concerned, is not only feasible but capable of commercial exploitation.

Such being the case why not whoop with joy at the coming of age of this new geni which can build us new prosperity? Regretfully, Mr. Aylesworth adds to his triumphant announcement, the caveat that at present each receiving set is expensive, so very much so that the ordinary radio listener will find one beyond his means. But if that were all it would not be such a dolorous prospect, for the automobile and the radio both stood in such a position once and the persistency of the engineer and the industrialist overcame the damning factor.

There is another costly item which shuts off this new escape. Some one has to send television programs before they can be received. At present government agencies, or research departments of large industries concerned, do so in the line of experiment but, just as the radio quickly outgrew the supply of such material, so will television the instant it becomes a commercial proposition. If receiving equipment is costly, sending apparatus will be even more so, and besides the mechanical appliances there must be artists to perform for the broadcasts and all the technicians and attendant items of expense. Moreover, it will not be enough to fill in odd hours running through photo-records of Bing Crosby singing popular hits. A radio audience which is irked by the playing of phonograph records will tire very much more quickly of such filler material. It follows then, that programs will call for ingenuity and resource, and this three hundred and sixty-five days in the year.

HOW many can bear to see a movie the second time? And of those who can pass this test, how many can endure more than a pitifully few out of the general run? Think for a moment of how much of your attitude is governed by the quite human demand for novelty and the acceptance of what one has once seen as part of experience, repetition of which is excess baggage. From this we should have clearly in mind the enormous problem which the provision of television programs presents and we should have a faint impression of the staggering expense bill by which they could be made possible.

In this world all things have a price and some one must pay it. In Great Britain the radio listener pays for his programs directly to the government which supplies the programs. In the United States the listener receives the largesse of private enterprises who pay the costs of broadcasts with hopes that gratitude will prompt the public to re-

turn their bread thus cast upon the ether—with a fair profit. In Canada with true aptitude for synthesis we make the best we can of both possible worlds. Television stepping into radio's hand-me-downs has these two possible sponsors:

Pause for a moment, however, and make a hasty guess at what the individual receiver would have to pay the government television broadcasting agency in order to ensure year-round programs. If you are appalled, make a mild surmise at how the purveyors of soaps, mouthwashes and toothpastes will react to the opportunity of supplying you with eye and ear cajolements in order to increase their sales. Better draw it mild. It would cost these advertisers a pretty penny and in return for that they would be entitled to demand handsome profits which would mean a mass appeal which in turn would dictate the nature of the broadcast. Lest one take too long sketching some bright prospects you are referred to the advertisements in newspapers and magazines which aim at the widest audience, at the movies most particularly fabricated with an ear to the cash register and the publications which enjoy the largest newsstand sales. Even then only the killing competition of rivals turning to this weapon will drive the advertiser into the seemingly suicidal expenditures involved in such broadcasts.

FOR new hazards have been introduced into what today is a gambling proposition—one backs a crooner, an ivory-tickler, a fiddle-player, a drummer, or a wisecracker with the expert assistance of an army of gagmen, mercantile engineers and advertising technicians, to drag in more profits from sales of a tooted product than the whole kit and caboodle take for putting on the show. Listeners are variegated enough in all conscience, but with the addition of visibility new irritants to crankiness are gritting in the calculations. Novelties aside, it will have the tendency to split up the audience into still smaller units. Who could envy the director of a government television agency caught between the fanatical prelections of opera lovers, pedantical pursuers of instructive information on the arts and sciences, hardened connoisseurs of pulchritude, and palpitating worshippers of matinee idols? The television program of universal appeal would speedily push the long-sought philosopher's stone out of paramount position as symbol of the lodestone of human questing.

That these obstacles will be surmounted may be confidently expected. But it will only be by developing new techniques just as automobile, cinema and radio have altered the world in their struggles for growth. Might one suggest that there already exists some suggested lines along which these developments may run?

Many readers in middle life will recall, dimly, having read in a novel years ago a remarkable prophecy, worthy of Jules Verne, of a man miraculously passing in a trance from 1887 into the year 2000 and discovering that by that time people by twiddling a knob on the wall could command musical programs, lectures, sermons, or other audible entertainment at any hour of the day. This character out of fiction was Julian West through whom Ed-

ward Bellamy expressed his social ideas in a utopian novel called "Looking Backward". For our purpose we might date the telegraph from Morse in 1835, the telephone from Bell in 1876 and the radio from Marconi in 1896. Bellamy wrote his book in 1887. The school child of today can probably remember the advent of the radio, which is now in the degree of adaptability ascribed by the author to his world one hundred and thirteen years from the date of his writing.

How many who recall this quaint incident, however, know that ten years later in a sequel, "Equality", Edward Bellamy revealed that there were television sets in the world of 2000 A.D.? Julian West was able to see, as well as hear, a class in school studying the history of his own time while he was in a home miles away from the institution. The basis on which the novelist made his conjectures is irrelevant, although it is worth noting that the Korn telephotographic apparatus, one of the earlier commercial appliances for transmitting pictures by telegraph, was based on methods devised by Sheldford Bidwell in 1881 and the basic elements on which modern television operates, are all contained in that method, right down to the selenium cell.

BUT the significant point about Bellamy's forecasts for our purpose, is that he based his system upon the telephone and its ramified trunklines. A rumour has it that just before the stringencies of the depression enforced certain economies, research workers of the Bell Telephone Company of Canada despite the apparent ascendancy of the radio, were experimenting on bringing programs to subscribers by wire—a simple plug-in system by which the customer could arrange to have the symphony concert, the grand opera, the orator or some highly desired program delivered to his order. It was aimed at the more selective audience whose desires and wishes cannot be consulted except in the most rough and ready manner by the designers of radio programs. To those who can afford to be particular and discriminating only the development of a beam system of radio broadcasting in which the message can be sent to specific destinations in a measurable way, as if by a meter on the receiver, can offer a more satisfactory proposition. The cost of transmitting lines is the only real handicap in favour of the free waves of the air. Given a sufficiently prosperous clientele able to pay for their pet entertainment delivered in the home for a definite fee, there would be a very real place for such a development without in anyway ruining the radio business. It might well be the only way in which radio and television can exist in the world together. An experiment along these lines is now in actual operation in Cleveland, where the Musak Company is offering musical service to subscribers.

Is it too wild a supposition to suggest that along some such lines as these lies the way out for television? The audience must pay eventually and in the case of television much more heavily and apparently than for radio entertainment. What more feasible way than the method by which the fees can be truly commensurate with the service received? When the girl from Woolworth's, after her supper, can drop a quarter in the slot and watch the divine features of Rudy Vallee as he sings his

way into her heart, or the more cultivated person may call the box office and order the performance of Lily Pons and Lawrence Tibbett at the Metropolitan Opera, or Leslie Howard and Katharine Cornell in their latest New York stage triumph, to be charged at the prevailing rates to his account, television will be on a practical commercial basis.

NOR do the possibilities stop there. Warner Bros., astute movie producers and first to cash in upon the talkies, are making tests to see if motion pictures can be broadcast through the new medium. Since much radio television experiment has been done by using film for sending, a large step, while receiving apparatus is still in the prohibitively costly stage, is suggested by the chance of theatres using machines too unwieldy and expensive for homes, and receiving programs by wire from

Hollywood, New York and other points, doing away with the old cans of film rented from week to week. With the development of home apparatus at popular prices the film companies can place on call programs of either library or fresh features to suit a wide range of tastes from the fan who will have nothing but Mickey Mouse and Silly Symphonies to the news-reel addict.

As a further factor is the emergence of the coloured film in the cinema world which is expected to cause readjustments as marked as the innovation of speech. Somewhere cinema, radio and telephone may find a common working ground. They are already financially intertwined, as well as in the scientific field by a maze of related patents. Out of this confusion a common need may bring the entertainment of the future.

MERCATOR'S PROJECTION

ERIC HAVELOCK

THE newspapers have again announced that the Canadian depression is over. Some doubt has been raised as to which depression is meant. There was one in 1934, but as everyone knows who reads the editorials, it passed away imperceptibly last spring. So did another before that. Indeed, there can scarcely be any country that has been so fortunate in its depressions as Canada. They have all died on us in rapid succession, whereas the United States, from all accounts, has been less fortunate. That great country, for all its riches, still continues to follow our lead in the march towards recovery.

We are indeed a fortunate country. No one can long breathe Canadian air without becoming aware that a privilege has been conferred upon him. He lives surrounded by vast natural resources and British institutions, realities none the less real for being mostly invisible. Wherever his eye may turn, it lights upon some example of the national vigour like the C.P.R. or the Dionne family. He possesses a parliamentary democracy to kindle free speech and thought, and a mounted police to discourage too much of it. But of all his blessings none is more rightly prized than the privilege of patronizing the United States.

THERE is something sublime in this attitude. Our neighbour has over twelve times our population, and a wealth beyond computation, but it does not disturb us, for we have learnt the lesson of all adult civilizations, that it is not material things, but the illusions built upon them, which inspire a nation. Man does not live by bread alone. Thus it is that we have learned to boast with sublime insolence of our three thousand miles of unguarded frontier, leaving it to the imagination of the listener what our tax bill would be if we tried to fortify it. We like to sit in modest silence while some emissary from England, his heart warmed by the spectacle of our vast territories, exhorts us to develop this white man's burden still further. Why shatter the crystal illusion and spoil the lecture by pointing out that most of them are uninhabitable?

Indeed, of all our national virtues, our size is

the supreme one, the more so as it too, is something of an illusion. Most people in England and elsewhere know Canada primarily as a large red place on the map, much larger in fact than it should be. The world may be round, but most people prefer it flat to look at. It was a Flemish mathematician in the sixteenth century who produced a popular method of dealing with this difficulty. He squashed the earth at the equator and stretched it at the poles, thus producing a very pleasing effect for Canadians, who can contemplate on Mercator's Projection their native land at last magnified to proportions more in keeping with its intrinsic worth and well over twice the size of the United States.

HOW deeply this has affected our past history, and present situation it is impossible to say, but the effect must have been considerable. The English statesman yearns to populate such vast open spaces with immigrants. Economists may try and point out to him that the provinces of Canada are rather like a long, narrow strip of stamp paper badly stuck together, but he will not listen: he has looked at the map. Geneva still heeds our counsels, as the word of a remote but mighty people, because there are lots of maps at Geneva. The foreign capitalist continues to lose his money by sinking it generously in our natural resources, because he has surveyed Northern Ontario on the map, and failed to notice its proximity to Greenland. And we ourselves as school children have looked on that map and felt the responsibility of space settle on our young shoulders.

Of course, the colour helps; even Baffin Land looks warm and cosy besides the anaemic green with which the United States is usually favoured. This advantage we can claim we won for ourselves, among many others, when we claved to the British Empire. But our size is a different matter: It is not our own; it was given to us, and it is time we acknowledged our debt. We commemorate with suitable monuments the explorers who first penetrated our territories and pushed our frontiers north and west. But we have as yet no statue to Mercator, the man who stretched them further than any mere explorer could hope to do.

Canada and the Abyssinian Crisis

ESCOTT REID

IF Canada is seriously considering how to stay out of the next great war she should have approached the imposition of sanctions against Italy with great caution. For by participating in sanctions against Italy she has diminished the possibility of being able to refuse to participate in sanctions against Germany in six months or one year's time. The application of economic sanctions against Germany will, in all probability, mean a first class war into which Canada will be dragged up to her neck unless she maintains from the very beginning of the dispute a policy of resolute, impartial and costly neutrality.

Had Canada wanted to co-operate in an attempt to stop the next great war she should have refused to participate in sanctions against Italy unless the members of the League first demonstrated that they were willing to make a serious attempt to discover a peaceful solution of Italy's real problems. For if the members of the League had done this they would by so doing have demonstrated that they were willing to make the sacrifices necessary to find a peaceful solution of Germany's real problems, of Japan's real problems, of the world's real problems—for the problems of Italy are world problems. Only a truly international solution can provide Italy with more than a temporary palliative for her ills. An imperialist solution will simply give her indigestion by giving her large chunks of Ethiopia.

IT may be objected that Canada could not have followed this policy because she is bound by her obligations under the Covenant, and especially by her obligations under Article 16, to take part in the enforcement of sanctions. Actually, however, Canada in October, 1935, was perfectly free to decide for herself what policy she should adopt, regardless of the obligations she was supposed to have assumed under Article 16 of the Covenant. For it is a cardinal rule in the interpretation in practice of obligations such as those contained in the Covenant that they must be considered in the light of the circumstances in which a demand for their enforcement arises as contrasted with the circumstances in which they were undertaken. Now what are the circumstances in which Canada undertook the obligations of Article 16 of the Covenant, contrasted with the circumstances of today?

IN the first place, the cardinal presupposition under which the Covenant was accepted was that the League was to be substantially universal, and certainly that it was to include the United States. Today three of the seven great powers are outside the League—the United States, Japan, and Germany.

Secondly, the guarantees of articles 10 and 16 were given on the understanding that the League under Article 19 would provide effective machinery for treaty revision and for "the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." The supreme importance of Article 19 in the Anglo-American

conception of the Covenant can scarcely be exaggerated. Harold Nicolson has drawn attention to this in his book, *Peacemaking*:

From the historical point of view, from the point of view of how decisions came to be taken in Paris, the Article was all-important. By the end of February we were abandoning any hope of making a Wilsonian peace in that year of anguish, 1919. It is impossible to estimate how many decisions were accepted, how often obstruction was relinquished, how frequently errors were passed over, under the aegis of that blessed Article XIX. "Well," we were apt to think, "this decision seems foolish and unjust. Yet I shall agree to it rather than delay the Treaty for a few days further. Its unwisdom will very shortly become apparent even to those who are now its advocates. When that day comes, we can resort to Article XIX."

And that Article 19, the keystone of the Anglo-American conception of the covenant, the article to preserve which the British fought time and time again at Paris, that article has never been used, except perhaps by inference when the Assembly adopted the Lytton report providing for changes in the status quo in Manchuria. The result of the failure of the members of the League to make Article 19 effective is that, as Lord Lothian put it in a speech delivered on September 28th, 1935:

We have allowed it (the League) to become an instrument not for settling grievances but for perpetuating a status quo which is every year becoming more difficult to justify.

Or, as Sir Herbert Samuel put it a few days later:

The League of Nations must become something more than a mere defender of the status quo.

Canada is being asked in 1935 to participate in the sanctions of a League that is, according to Sir Herbert Samuel, "a mere defender of the status quo." But that is not what we agreed to in 1919, for in that year Canada pledged herself to take part in the sanctions not of a League that was "a mere defender of the status quo" but of a League which could settle international grievances. On these grounds, therefore, it can be argued that the pledge of 1919 does not bind Canada today.

IT is not only the failure to implement Article 19 of the Covenant which releases Canada from her obligations under articles 10 and 16; it is also the failure to implement Article 8 on the reduction of armaments; for whatever obligation to impose sanctions we assumed under Articles 10 and 16 was distinctly on the understanding that the members of the League would carry out, by common agreement, a drastic reduction of their armaments. That reduction of armaments has not taken place. Instead the world is spending more on armaments today

than it ever has in time of peace. In 1919 we envisaged the enforcement of sanctions in a world in which a substantial reduction of armaments had taken place. In such a world there is very little danger that the use of economic sanctions will necessitate the use of military sanctions. Today there is grave danger that the use of economic sanctions will necessitate the use of military sanctions, and military sanctions in a heavily armed world mean nothing else than a first class war.

Thus there were three cardinal presuppositions under which Canada accepted the sanctions articles of the Covenant: first, that the League was to be substantially universal; second, that the League, under Article 19, would provide effective machinery for remedying international grievances; third, that the League, under Article 8, would effect a substantial reduction in the armaments of the world. Today, when all those three presuppositions are no longer valid, it cannot, upon any fair interpretation of Article 16, be insisted that its obligations are any longer binding.

WHEN it became obvious this summer that Italy contemplated invading Abyssinia, there were three main policies open to the members of the League to adopt. The first was to do nothing very much and let Italy go ahead. The second was to threaten Italy with sanctions if she broke the peace. The third was to offer Italy a choice between, on the one hand, international co-operation in the solution of her problems by peaceful means, and, on the other hand, a complete economic and financial boycott. The first policy was bad, but the second policy, the one which was actually adopted, was as bad if not worse. This was the policy of threatening Italy with sanctions, without offering her at the same time the possibility of a peaceful solution of her economic difficulties. This policy seems all right in the short run. You prevent aggression, regardless of whether there is ultimate justification for that aggression. After the aggression has been stopped you will consider whether the aggressor country has legitimate grievances or legitimate demands, and if so what can be done about it. You say that you recognize that peace cannot be made secure until the powers with great possessions make concessions to the hungry powers, but you insist that grievances cannot be discussed under a threat of war. The hungry powers must behave themselves like humble poor relations and then concessions will be made to them, if they ask for them nicely.

TO adopt that stand is to be completely unrealistic. Great powers will not at the present time make concessions of any importance except under a threat of force. Perhaps in the future when we have established a League of Nations which preserves a nice balance between the claims of the satisfied powers for international stability and the claims of the dissatisfied powers for international change, that will not be so; I doubt it. Even then it is probable that when the League, acting under Article 19, decrees a change in the status quo, it will have to be prepared to enforce that change by an economic boycott.

To adopt that stand is not only to be completely unrealistic; it is to misinterpret the Covenant. On

this matter Sir John Fischer Williams has written (in *Some Aspects of the Covenant of the League of Nations*; Oxford University Press, 1934):

It is unlikely that it would be possible in practice to get serious support for advising a change in the established situation under Article 19 unless there was a crisis, actual or threatened. Indeed, Article 19 itself says as much. The treaty to be "reconsidered" must have become inapplicable. The continuance of the international conditions which it is sought to alter must involve a possible danger to the peace of the world. Thus, it is at least highly probable that when any question of change is under discussion there will be a dispute in progress and proceedings will be being taken under Article 15 (that is to say, there will be a dispute in progress likely to lead to a rupture), or at any rate there will be discussion in Council or Assembly under Article 11 (that is to say, war will either have broken out already or there will exist a threat of war).

THE real danger in the present situation is that, if the members of the League do not make concessions now to the states with grievances, and if the League by its sanctions compels Italy to give in, the powers with great possessions will feel too secure. They may argue to themselves as follows: "The League has demonstrated that it is able to keep a dissatisfied great power in its place. There is no need for us, therefore, to make concessions to other great powers which are dissatisfied. We will build an iron ring around them, and if they try to break through that iron ring we will bring down upon them the weight of League sanctions and compel them to submit." The result will be that the League will continue in the future to be what it has been in the past, "a mere defender of the status quo." The only change will be that the "haves" in the League will believe that the League is a more effective defender of the status quo than they had imagined it to be. They will, therefore, be even less likely in the future than in the past to agree to those changes in the status quo which are essential if peace is to be preserved.

LORD LOTHIAN has put this danger with great clarity and force. In a speech on September 18th, 1935, he said:

Italy . . . has a case against us and the League—a much better case than she has against Abyssinia. . . . In the last century there was practically free migration all over the world . . . (and) in substance free trade in goods, foodstuffs and capital. . . . Today the nations are living in watertight compartments, with no migration and no freedom of trade, with the result that many of them have got into such tremendous population and economic difficulties that they have resorted to dictatorship to maintain order at home, and most of them are adding to their armaments in order to try to solve their internal problems by action in a foreign field.

Unless the League can deal, and deal quickly and effectively, with these tremendous ques-

tions the Abyssinian issue will be swallowed up by a war about far wider issues. . . . If the League merely becomes an institution for stabilizing the status quo under threat of sanctions, our last state will be much worse than our first. There will be two consequences.

In the first place, all the dissatisfied powers—and many of them quite legitimately dissatisfied—will leave the League, will remain dictatorships, and we shall get back to the old fatal alliance system, though one side will call itself the League and the other a combination to compel the League members to share the wealth and opportunity of the world with them.

In the second place, Great Britain will find itself bound under the Covenant to go to war in order to maintain the status quo for everybody else—because everybody wants to get the British navy behind their security—but without being able to compel the revision of treaties she may think justly needed.

These are the real dangers which are inherent in the present situation unless we make it clear that we and the League are willing to consider world problems, including Italy's problems, in a far bigger way than hitherto, as well as deal with unprovoked aggression.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE has opened the door a little way in his reference to colonial raw materials. His suggestion is good as far as it goes but it does not take us very far—and there has been no sign that France is willing to reconsider her trade or colonial policy. The importance of Sir Samuel Hoare's reference to raw materials is its recognition that the main causes of war are economic. The real problems to be considered, if we are to make enough concessions to Germany, Italy, and Japan to diminish materially the causes of war are, once more to quote Lord Lothian, "a substantial reduction in tariffs and embargoes which create unemployment everywhere, so as to make possible a development of international trade; the collective reconsideration of the problem of migration; the revision of the war-time mandates, and collective consideration whether there could not be an open door in the colonial territories of all nations."

These things will not be accomplished unless the great powers, and especially Great Britain, make it clear from the outset that they are willing to make sacrifices if others will play their part. In order to encourage initiative on the part of Great Britain, the Canadian government should, therefore, make it clear that it is prepared to give favourable consideration to such proposals as those made by Lord Lothian, as part of a settlement which will include the strengthening of the sanctions obligations of the League and the conclusion of a treaty providing for a substantial reduction of national armaments.

An effective collective system means not only the restraint of the aggressor but also disarmament, international instead of imperial control of colonies, and effective machinery to deal with treaty revision and the problems of markets, migration and raw materials. The crisis which presents itself today

gives us an opportunity to build the foundations and perhaps some of the framework of such a system. If we seize that opportunity we shall greatly diminish the prospects of war. If we fail to seize it, war will not be far off.

To Horace

Farewell, thou plump Apulian ghost,
Or whatso name delight thee most,
Still be thy lively spirit near,
Thou consul of no single year,
Untamed by professorial drudges,
Whenever wise and honest judges
Prefer sound worth to flashy show,
Or to the winds their worries throw—
Those wintry winds that now without
Toss pale December's leaves about,
While the hoarse Adriatic shocks
And tumbles on the thundering rocks.
Come, freemen now of every clime,
Come, let us pass the frozen time
Beside the pine-log flaming free
With wine, and wit, and song, and thee.

—L. A. MACKAY.

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CHILDREN AND ART

ARTHUR LISMER

THE passive, non-resistance type of education in vogue today—blind faith in the value of facts and formulae, in skills, examinations, promotions and vocational pre-occupations—has crowded out the real allies of intelligence, the emotional and creative forms of expression in music, drama, the plastic arts and handicrafts, that release personality and intensify the business of living. We have stressed the business of making a living at the expense of showing people how to live. For society does not know what to do with its creative individuals and educational responsibility has no regard for the development of personalities that cannot fit into the present social order.

Education is supposed to await fruition in the experience of the individual before it is applied to life; that is, the educated one must wait for time and opportunity before he can give his accumulation of facts and formulae a chance to function. But modern, progressive education demands that education function in the life of every child, now—at every age level. Not merely intellectually, but emotionally, socially and aesthetically and in every way that will release a well informed, emotionally alive personality, who can appreciate the beauty of environment and possesses a measure of curiosity about the nature of the universe in which he finds himself.

THE most difficult task in higher education is to arouse intellectual curiosity and ambitions. Our universities are full of intellectually informed young adults, superior material in many ways, but who have not acquired the slightest curiosity about self-education, who lack creative energy, the spark that would propel them along the pathways to self-discipline and self-knowledge. The basic fault in the structure can be found in the methods pursued in the early years in elementary schools, in kindergarten and primary classes, in all the forms of public instruction in the formative years.

Growth is the fundamental process of all life, and following as it does a divine order of progression and beauty, it holds the core and the clue to the character and quality that education for the young should follow. The creative character of childhood is a powerful yet tender plant—feed it on patent food, regiment it, support it with crutches and the hardy bloom that it should have been becomes a forced and sickly plant, non-creative of further growth. We are so far ahead of our primitive culture that we have lost sight of their forms and designs. Our refined instincts are so hostile

and so overlaid by the accumulations of society that we cannot grasp the surging life and creative necessity that primitive origins of our society once possessed. But children are primitives, indeed they are prototypes of ancient man, or pre-historic man, or whatever stage in the development of mankind wherein the things they do are not separated from the ordinary functions of existence.

Adults, on the other hand, are conscious of the word art. To them it means technique, professional practice and the capacity to produce works of art; and a work of art means to them something demanding specialized training, or it means history, tradition and some critical analysis about style and periods. To children, the word art has no meaning. It is quite possible

that as a word, art had no meaning for the Greeks or any primitive people. What is meant by this is that art and life, art and daily execution of things by hand, the making of objects, the decoration of weapons or vases, was considered as a part of the whole life of such people, and not as a cultural pursuit or the study of handicrafts. Such things were necessary to life, they were part of the things to do by the people who had the desire and skill to do them.

Art or creative experience becomes a corner



stone of the new order. The child learns to do and by so doing he discovers new paths, and by such discoveries he is sustained and nurtured towards



understanding his place and value in the world of men and affairs. All educators, all teachers have a new place in this new education. They are no longer correctors, pounders and information stations, they are encouragers, guides, friends and leaders. They are necessary and vital to childhood, co-operative with the child in the enrichment of his experience.

IF it were possible to take a census of children interested in using such common vehicles of expression which we call artistic, we should find that about 80% of all children enjoy and do what we call art and about 5 or 10% only of adults have any form of plastic expression in the arts.

As this is such a natural thing for most children to do, it seems strange that we do not use it more often in public education. One reason for the lack of creative elements in the school programme is that most adults regard art as a wasted period in public instruction, and they also believe it is specialized, a frill or a fad that has no place in the stern business of life. Consequently, the sight of five or six hundred children drawing and painting in an art gallery for no other reason to the children but that they are enjoying doing it, is a unique and disturbing sight to grown people. It appeals to them as any spectacle does. They look upon their productions with expressed amazement that children can do such things, but they do not understand it in the simple direct way that the children themselves do. They compare it with adult art, and think of child precocity and genius, but miss the significance of the value of the activity in public education.

These same activities are the manifestations of the new order in experimental education of the young. They have deep social significance. Their drawings and designs, their ideas and imagination,

reveal the real nature of man as a peaceful, industrious, social creature, delighting in creative, not possessive acts.

THE story of the actual process of creative action is not a verbal one. It has to be seen, and although we rarely go into a school, we can see it at the Art Gallery of Toronto, where there are free expression classes for children from the ages of seven years to fourteen years. Each Saturday morning from October to May, and in the summer months of July and August, children literally swarm into the Art Gallery by the hundreds to do all those things that a young person never gets a chance to do in school or home; with all kinds of materials and techniques they release the inborn love of action and rhythmic movement of line and form. With enviable gusto they apply their youthful creative talents to the expression of their experiences in life. What a child has to say about this is important to us because in doing these things, he not only finds outlets for energy and creativeness, he reveals his own child nature, and if we are going to be helpful to the child, we must first of all understand what he is telling us about himself. Now the art gallery is a beautiful place, fine architecture, good pictures and sculpture, light, air and space. On the other hand the school is very often a very ordinary place, rigid desks, formal discipline, regimented instruction, tasks and examinations, and usually very poor, architecturally inside, and not much to admire in the way of colour schemes in paints and wall surfaces. The homes also are cluttered, typically adult dwelling places, and the child usually plays outside, and sleeps or does home lessons within.

THE art lesson in schools is usually a reiteration of principles, problems, theories and prescribed formulae—anything but enlivening and recreational, and it is usually taught by people who have a mental grasp of every other subject on the curriculum, ex-



cept the art lesson, which is usually ascribed in its failures and successes to the God-given talents of a few specially gifted ones, and the hopelessly inept.

In the Art Gallery, which is a sort of recreational centre, there is no discipline of a formal nature, no tasks, no formal routine, and no rigid instruction, and certainly no restriction of movement. All this freedom helps to create an environment in which creative attitudes to life find a chance to come out, and the children, given various media that free the timid ones into action, are spontaneously and vividly released into expressive and creative exuberance.

By contrast the sad array of little sheets of colour studies, the timid fine-lined drawings of sick-looking flowers, the ellipses and vanishing lines, the spouts and handles, the nature studies and posters of the average public school class-room are depressing and subversive of development of child character. This is no reflection on scores of those valiant teachers who have minds and spirit above the common average, and who try to bring beauty as well as accuracy into the art lesson, in spite of environment and inspector visits. But it is a plea for putting the drawing lesson into the recreational periods of a school. As it is taught at present in hundreds of schools in Canada, it has no educational value whatever, it merely wastes the creative hours of youth and leads to distaste and boredom of teachers and pupils.

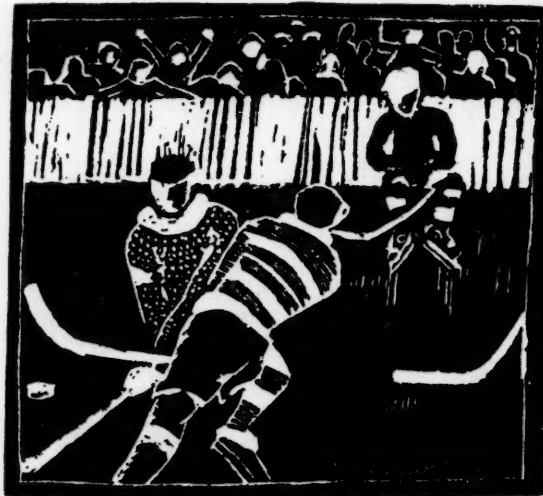
The Art Gallery in Toronto is the core and centre of a new idea which is catching on in many other centres in Canada. It is not unique on this continent, for there are many progressive schools, museums and art galleries, where similar plans for child art expression are in action. But it is new to Canada, and to other dominions overseas. Many years may elapse in this country before we realize the necessity of studying youth and manhood through the creative activities of the children themselves, and apply this to the official business of educating for citizenship for fuller participation in the universal language of art used by all nations.

In estimating the value of all such public forms of participation in the arts there are many factors to be taken into consideration.

AS far as the children are concerned, it is a matter of necessity in present day society and industry to endeavour to combat the material point of view of de-humanized education given to young people. It is a difficult and lengthy task to change any system, one might as well expect a style in architecture to change overnight. No person with any shred of intelligence or regard for the future of our children today can be content with the commonplace, archaic Victorianism and pseudo-culture of the present order, which has neither a plan for

human society, nor regard for the individuality of the child. Experiencing creative expression is one aspect of the story in progress of liberating imagination and establishing self-discipline. If educational authority really understood the meaning of art as experience lived—music, design, drama and poetry would be made the key subjects in the formative years. The facts and formulae, the statistics, dates and analyses could be added later, fitting into a picture already established in the mind of the child by personal contact and enlivening experiences with design and form. All the subjects of the class room, geography, history, civics, languages, nature study, can be studied through art. It is through the picture story, the romance of exploration, the sympathy developed by studying the forms of trees and flowers, the habits and customs, the dwellings and costumes of people of all lands that children grow into sympathetic understanding of people in all lands and life. The external development arising out of facts and formulae, tasks and acquisition of skills, superimposes a veneer that rarely touches the core of personality. Look at

our text books with their flags and dull poetry, sentimental moralistic stories, tepid patriotism, and denatured history. Try to find any source of sustenance therein in the light of today's needs for universal peace, world brotherhood, elimination of social evils, and some understanding of this amazing epoch of transformation, this new creative period in history that our children will inherit.



The claims of art as a guiding star in education are as valid and important as the moral, physical, scientific and economic aspects in the development of a new society. People without art are fit for "stratagems and spoils", and go goose-stepping to every blare of dictator music, joining the mob of other servile ones in the spurious march to a possessive theme of fear and hatred. The new ideas in education find faith in creative impulses, which develop capacities of control of environment and individual thinking. Life cannot stifle and imprison the free spirit of the artist-mind, which sees life whole. The story of man's struggle "onward and upward" is manifested in every stick and stone, in every sustaining craft of hand and eye, and thoughtful design. The individual who sees a divine order in the chaos of nature, is not dismayed by the man-made chaos of wars, intrigues and mob-hysteria. He sees a pattern of life, a permanency as inevitable in design and growth as the trees and hills around him. It is the need for such a thoughtful philosophy, put into action by doing things in early life through the medium of these activities we call art that make modern educators of pre-eminence quick

to perceive the power of this new intrusion of the creative arts into modern education.

PERHAPS this is too sweeping a view to take of such an apparently simple thing as the drawings and designs of a host of children in an art gallery. Perhaps we should be better employed explaining their products and demonstrating the techniques and processes—telling what kind of paper and pencils are used, and how the children come so willingly. But it seems more important to tell of the ideas behind it all, and that we are watching, not the results, but what is happening to the child in the process of creative activity.

The fact remains that the art galleries and museums of this continent, including Canada, have engaged in a social experiment of far-reaching importance to society. In a dozen centres in Ontario it is going on. In Vancouver, in Edmonton and Winnipeg, in the Maritimes, in settlements and welfare associations, in private experimental and progressive schools, in universities and Y.M.C.A.'s, in community recreational centres this child, youth and adult movement towards participation in the experience of living happier individual lives is in action. It is a movement engaging the leisure time of hundreds of thousands of people from two years of age to well past middle life—wherever people meet for mutual enjoyment of song, story, dance, drama and the pictured symbol.

Three Films

DONALD W. BUCHANAN

THE CLAIRVOYANT (British).

I FOUND STELLA PARISH (American).

LE DEUXIEME BUREAU (French).

THESE are three films, each representative of good, competent production from their respective countries. Necessarily they react upon one in different ways. One should be loyal, I feel, to the triumph of English direction and praise *The Clairvoyant*, by Maurice Elvey, for it is a film which, in spite of the presence of Fay Wray, is decidedly English. The movement is slow and a little sodden with mist. The minor characters behave as Englishmen behave; they are not stage cockneys, nor do they try to ape Hollywood mannerisms. The banqueting hall, the hotel, the crowd of theatrical agents jostling one another before the entrance of the home of the man who has suddenly achieved notoriety by his prophecy of a train wreck, are all such as you might see in any English city. The only flaw in an otherwise good production is Fay Wray. Why they imported this rather commonplace product of Hollywood to play opposite Claude Rains is a mystery. Her Canadian background, such as it is, can hardly excuse her appearance in the most English of British films we have yet seen.

Compared to *The Clairvoyant*, the production of *I Found Stella Parish* is merely an ordinary Hollywood film, uninspired but mechanically close to perfection. All the English scenes in it, of

course, are wrong. Compare the two women in the theatre in the opening scene of this film with the audience in the music hall scene of *The Clairvoyant* and you will see the difference between Hollywood trying to be English and the English being English. But otherwise *I Found Stella Parish* has a cinematographic unity and coherence that would be remarkable if these qualities were not common to so many American films. The mechanism, for example, does not creak. Half a dozen of the most happy arrangements of photography, of editing, of the use of sound were incorporated into this picture, but if you weren't looking for them, you would never have noticed them. The finely composed photographs of the deck and funnels of an ocean liner neither tease the visual sensibilities, nor distract one from the dramatic action of the film; they simply provide a smooth photographic coherence to what otherwise might have been a disjointed plot. There was much dialogue in this film, but you did not always see the person who was speaking. Instead, you saw the person spoken to. All these elements of motion picture technique have been used before, of course. Hollywood didn't invent them. Probably the Germans or the Russians or the French did. But when Hollywood combines them in this way, they do it with such technical smoothness that you are liable to forget the treasure of accumulated experience before you.

IF the English have tried with difficulty to produce a film that is English as distinct from Hollywood, the French can sometimes turn out a picture which is neither completely French nor completely Hollywood, but which can teach everybody something. *Le Deuxième Bureau* has the speed of action of American films and the fertility of invention of the Gallic mind. In this picture you are halted abruptly, hung up as it were, by the sheer imagination of certain episodes. The bankers in the top hats, watching a new and deadly aeroplane perform in the skies, are, under the camera lens, a group of puppets acting in a row. But brilliant episodes do not always produce unity in a film; nevertheless, they are evidence of the courage to be original. The opening scene of the countryside and a crowd of yapping dogs in a trench, then a group of men in gas masks, demonstrating a new poison gas by killing the dogs and the vegetation as well, is a beautiful example of a restrained approach to terror.

The heroine, by the way, is an actress. Whereas Kay Francis can make love in one way in celluloid, this woman made love in five or six different ways with perfect facility and during the same picture. Perhaps this is but another example of the unexpected which, while it would not be tolerated in American films, is common enough in any French picture that rises above trash.



India's New Constitution

P. KODANDA RAO

INDIA has just been given a new constitution which has been received with widespread criticism and opposition by large sections of the Indian people. It is of interest to Canadians because it purports to be a step in the progress towards Dominion status. I have found in my recent tour of Eastern Canada that my Canadian hosts have shown a good deal of perplexity about it and about the Indian opposition to it. The question they asked me most often was why India should not accept it gratefully and proceed to develop it by custom and convention towards the ultimate goal of Dominion status just as the British North American colonies developed their constitutions until the Dominion of Canada reached its present position of national autonomy.

Perhaps it is well at this stage for me to declare my outlook and my background. I have been a member since 1922, and the secretary since 1930, of the Servants of India Society, the founder of which, the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., said in the Preamble to the Constitution of the Society that "its members frankly accept the British connection as ordained, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, for India's good. Self-government within the Empire for their country and a higher life generally for their countrymen is their goal." Though much has happened since this was written in 1905 to test our faith, we have not repudiated it.

Secondly, I belong to the Liberal Party, or the Moderate Party, in Indian politics, of which the leader, who is best known in Canada, is the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri: he visited Canada in 1922 on behalf of the Government of India, and he was subsequently the Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, and a member of the Round Table Conferences in London in 1930 and 1931. Mr. Sastri is a member of the Servants of India Society and its President from 1915 to 1927. I had the honour of serving Mr. Sastri as his Private Secretary for several years now in India, South Africa and in London. And since 1930 I have been the editor of the "Servant of India," the chief organ of the Servants of India Society, and an organ of the Liberal Party of India. The Liberal Party held the view that it was possible for India to attain Dominion Status by constitutional means, as opposed to direct action and non-co-operation; that, notwithstanding occasional set-backs, there was a general tendency in the British Commonwealth towards self-government and self-determination and that the growth of free institutions was due as much to conventions as to constitutions.

Thirdly, the Liberal Party, though no less dissatisfied with the Montagu Constitution of 1919 than the Indian National Congress, because of its inadequacy, felt that it was an improvement, and should, therefore, be worked, and made the starting point for further reforms in the Indian constitution. In pursuit of this policy, it took the extreme step of

tearing itself away from the Indian National Congress, to which it was bound by ties of loyalty and long devotion, and of openly opposing Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation policy. If anything, it has been accused of being pro-British rather than anti-British. So much then for my outlook.

AMONG the questions put to me during my tour in Canada may be mentioned the following:

1. Does India insist on independence or will she be content to be a Dominion;

2. If the British withdraw from India, will not the Muslims and the martial races of northern India overrun the whole country and land the country in chaos; and

3. Notwithstanding the letter of the law and the limitations of the new Indian Constitution, is not India likely to attain Dominion Status by the growth of conventions, even as Canada has done?

Considerations of space will not permit of adequate treatment of the three propositions. Categorically speaking, there is no material difference between independence and Dominion status since the Imperial Conference of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster. Dominions are as independent as independent countries. If anything, Dominion status is superior to independence. Canada, as a Dominion, takes tariff liberties with Great Britain, which, as a nation outside the Commonwealth, she might not be able to take without courting retaliation. Those in India who seek independence ask for the right to secede, if India ever so chose. And that right is implied in Dominion Status.

AS for the second, all that is possible here is to point out that Mr. Sastri, for instance, belongs to the Hindu and non-martial races in India, and he is foremost in asking for Dominion Status! Is it to be presumed that people, even like him, do not realize the danger they run, if the danger were real and significant? Moreover, was it ever suggested that on a particular day the whole British personnel in the civil and military services in India should depart? Was that how it was done in the case of Canada and South Africa? The persistent agitation has been for the gradual and steady Indianization of the civil and military services in India. With the best goodwill and the normal speed, it will take some thirty years to Indianize the officer ranks in the Indian Army.

It was not surprising that many friends, when they were told of the reactionary and anti-democratic character of the new Indian Constitution, pointed to the development of Dominion Status in Canada, and anticipated that a similar development, by conventions, will eventuate in India as well, notwithstanding the statutory limitations. The Liberal Party in India is no stranger to the thesis that the spirit of the constitution may be

more liberal than its letter. It has reason, however, to hold that the new Indian Constitution leaves little room for the liberalizing of the Constitution by the growth of conventions.

THE Report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, which is the basis for the new Indian Constitution says:

It is certain, on the contrary, as we shall show, that such an Act (of Parliament) must seek to give statutory form to many "safeguards" which are essential to the proper working of parliamentary government, but which in Great Britain, have no sanction save that of established custom. (Para. 14.)

Again,

In these circumstances, the successful working of parliamentary government in the Provinces must depend, in a special degree, on the extent to which Parliament can translate the customs of the British Constitution into "statutory" safeguards. (Para. 20.)

To the extent to which matters, which are governed by conventions in Great Britain and the Dominions, have been given statutory form in the Indian Constitution, growth is possible only by the amendment of the Constitution itself, and not by the growth of conventions. It will take too long to enumerate here the conventions that have been given statutory form; all that can be said is that they are not a few.

SECONDLY, the development of the constitutional practices in the Dominions and Colonies, which have written constitutions, was secured by the Instrument of Instructions. The Report of the Joint Select Committee thus refers to this point:

To imprison constitutional practice and usage within the four corners of a written document is to run the risk of making it barren for the future. This was foreseen by the framers of those Dominion and Colonial Constitutions which have followed the British model; and, since it by no means followed that the circumstances of a State were appropriate for the application of the whole body of English doctrine in its most highly developed form, recourse was had to another device, no less flexible, for the purpose of indicating to the Governor-General or Governor how far in the exercise of the executive power he was to regard himself as bound by English precedent and analogy. This is the Instrument of Instructions; and, though Dominion and Colonial Constitutions, and especially the former, necessarily embody much that is still regulated by usage and custom in the United Kingdom, the Instrument of Instructions long preserved (and in many cases still preserves) a sphere in which constitutional evolution might continue without involving any change in the legal framework of the Constitution itself. (Para. 70.)

The British Government's original proposal, as contained in the White Paper, preferred to regulate the relations between the Governor and his Cabinet

Ministers by means of more flexible Instrument of Instructions and not by statute. But the Joint Select Committee ruled otherwise. The Report says that the statute, according to the White Paper, would provide that "the Governor shall have a Council of Ministers to aid and advise him, but his relations with the Ministers are left to be determined wholly by the Instrument of Instructions. We agree that it is desirable that the Governor's special responsibilities, over and above the matters which are committed to his sole discretion, should be laid down in the Act itself than that they should be left to be enumerated thereafter in the Instrument of Instructions." (Para. 74.) Thus some matters which in other Constitutions have been regulated by the Instrument of Instructions have been made statutory in the Indian Constitution. To that extent again, the development of the Constitution by means of conventions is rendered impossible.

THIRDLY, the Instrument of Instructions has been an instrument issued by the Executive without reference to the Legislature. The Secretary of State for India could vary its terms without reference to the Parliament. But that procedure is altered in the new Indian Constitution. Says the Report:

The White Paper proposes a novel procedure in connection with the Instrument of Instruction, viz., that an opportunity shall be given to Parliament of expressing an opinion upon it before it is finally issued by the Crown. There is, we think, ample justification for this proposal, which has been rightly extended not only to the original Instrument but also to any subsequent amendments thereof; and we are satisfied that in no other way can Parliament so effectively exercise an influence upon the Indian constitutional development. (Para. 76.)

No change in the Instrument of Instructions is possible without the previous concurrence of Parliament, and that includes the House of Lords. The procedure, has, therefore, all the inflexibility of a statutory amendment, without however its legal validity. The Labour Party in the House of Commons objected to this provision on the ground that a Labour Government would practically be precluded from liberalizing the Constitution by the modification of the Instrument of Instructions inasmuch as the previous approval of the House of Lords, the stronghold of the Conservative die-hards, will be necessary for any such modification.

FOURTHLY, growth by convention is possible in so far as the Constitution leaves matters to the discretion of individuals. The Constitution, for instance, may provide that the Cabinet shall advise but that the Governor shall decide. A convention may then grow up that the Governor shall decide as the Cabinet advises. Such a development is possible if the Constitution permitted the formation of Cabinets with strong majorities in the legislatures. But the new Indian Constitution makes this impossible by the extended use of the system of separate electorates, based on race, religion and caste, which are not subject to change at every election, and by the apportionment of seats in the legislature in

such a way that the different groups based on religion and race shall balance one another and none shall have a majority. The Report avows that the Constitution was "so framed as to preserve as far as may be, a nice balance between the conflicting interests of Federation, States and Provinces, of minority and majority, and indeed, of minority and minority." (Para. 375.)

The Report admits that separate electorates and excessive representation for racial and religious

minorities are incompatible with responsible government. But separate electorates are fundamental to the new Indian Constitution, and they are statutory. No growth of conventions can abolish them. The composition of the legislatures can be altered only by the amendment of the Constitution. The hope, then, that notwithstanding the letter of the new Indian Constitution, India might grow into Dominion status by the development of conventions, even as Canada did, is beyond the reach of realization.

PRIVATE VIEW

FLORENCE RHEIN

LEANING forward slightly from the hips, Mrs. Cole held her tortoise-shell rimmed glasses up to her eyes and looked at the paintings. Once again she wished that she could afford a lorgnette. She lowered the glasses, their legs crumpling like the drumsticks of a stuffed duck as yet unsewn, and squinted at Mr. Dernary.

"Astounding," she said. "Perfectly astounding. And you say she is only seventeen?"

"Only seventeen," said Mr. Dernary. "A real prodigy."

"Such freshness. Such naiveté. Such a fresh outlook," said Mrs. Cole.

While they conversed they moved their hands in a Mediterranean manner. "Such freshness," said Mrs. Cole and with the words her fingers shot up and down as if she were trying to stimulate her circulation, or suffering from cramp.

"Put that one in a nice gilt frame," said Mr. Dernary, "and you wouldn't recognize it for the same picture."

"This one is yours, isn't it?"

Mrs. Cole pointed to a painting of a Province of Quebec farmyard.

"Yes. You approve of my choice? You don't think the one of the mountains with the road is better?"

"Well, I couldn't say offhand. They're both good, aren't they?"

The red star on the painting gave Mr. Dernary deep pleasure. Heretofore he had not been able to afford to buy pictures at a gallery. He did not follow Mrs. Cole, as she moved off to look at the water colours, but stayed on beside his star.

"I wish," he said to Horatio Crutch, art critic for the Morning Post, "I wish I could be sure that I've made the right choice."

HORATIO CRUTCH stood before a picture, his legs apart, his hands knitted behind his back, a solemn, judicial expression on his domed forehead. Mr. Dernary hoped he would give an opinion on the starred painting.

"She has much to learn in the matter of technique," said Crutch, in his deep voice, "but there is something here. Definitely there is something here. What, I will not yet say."

Elise Summerfield laid her hand on Horatio Crutch's arm. She was a tall woman with lots of firm figure which she dressed in long, shiny black. Two strings of Japanese pearls were knotted around her throat.

"Do you think I have made a discovery?" she said.

She handed the critic a cocktail with a pleading gesture and balanced the cocktail shaker on a small, yellow handkerchief.

"Why do cocktail shakers always leak?" she said.

"There is something here," said Horatio Crutch.

"Come, Mr. Crutch, and meet the artist."

The room was becoming crowded. There are always many more people at the small private showing than at any other time during the exhibition, especially if cocktails are being served. The Russian ceiling painted by Cyril Kissitsky, the boy Mrs. Summerfield discovered in a garage, was almost hidden by cigarette smoke. Already the exquisite, little ash trays set about on dainty inlaid tables were full to overflowing with cigarette stubs and dead matches. The Byzantine Room of The Art Club was Elise Summerfield's creation: it was, everyone agreed, unique in Canada. Even the unpleasant episode with Kissitsky could not dull the pleasure it had given Mrs. Summerfield to create the room. Kissitsky had been quite impertinent when, the ceiling having been finished, she failed to produce another commission.

"The man was not a true artist," Mrs. Summerfield explained to her friends. "He was only concerned about losing his job at the gas station instead of being grateful for the splendid opportunity I had given him. Of course the ceiling is lovely, but just the same he is not a true artist. It is the money he wanted. Just a materialist, I'm afraid. He spent everything I gave him for his work and kept coming back to me with complaints. I finally had to tell the butler not to admit him. But the

ceiling is certainly a success. People always admire it."

It was Mrs. Summerfield who discovered Agathe Dupuis. The invitations to the opening, the cocktails, the pickled fishes on toast which Mr. Dernary was now handing about on a plate—she was paying for them all. A second time she filled the critic's glass from the dripping shaker and indicated a corner of the room.

"Come and meet the artist," she said again.

"Later, dear lady, later. I want first to form my opinion from the paintings themselves."

"I would like to meet her," said Mrs. Cole.

"But of course."

The two women pushed themselves through the clotted groups of people. Agathe Dupuis was sitting in a high-backed chair. The smooth leather of the seat made it hard for her to sit comfortably so that she had to hold onto the carved arms. She was wearing a black frock with a high neck, the usual parochial school uniform, and her long, rather heavy legs were covered with black cotton stockings. Her hair had been elaborately curled and dressed in the current style. When someone was introduced to her she put her hand up to the large bunch of gardenias pinned on her shoulder as if she were afraid it might fall off. She smiled shyly at Mrs. Cole, a faint smile which barely showed the edges of small teeth, so regular that they might have been false.

"Speak French to her," said Mrs. Summerfield. "She doesn't understand a word of English."

"Bunjour, Mahmeselle," said Mrs. Cole. "Vous avez oon talent merveilleuse."

The girl smiled and wriggled miserably in the chair.

"When she first came," said Mrs. Summerfield, "her hair was fixed in Garbo ringlets. I took her down to Louis and had him cut it for her."

"How wonderful you are to these people," said Mrs. Cole.

"She isn't exactly easy either, as a guest I mean. She's in mourning for her father. He died last week. She won't go to movies or anything. You have to understand the French-Canadian attitude toward mourning . . . To them it is sacred . . ."

MRS. SUMMERFIELD patted the girl's shoulder, and leaning down shouted in her ear.

"Ce swar vous allez ah lah cinemah?" She smiled winningly. "Vous allez pour moi."

"Ah non, Madame."

The girl's eyes filled with tears and she struggled with her handkerchief.

"There, there, Agathe, don't cry."

Mrs. Summerfield turned to Mrs. Cole, raising her eyebrows and dropping the corner of her mouth. "You see," she said, "how temperamental she is?"

"Do you suppose she appreciates all this?"

"Oh, yes. When you think what we have done. You know, I found her in a farm house where I go occasionally to buy eggs. I always try to help the habitants when I'm summering at St. Philoméle, by buying their things. They depend on us so, you know. Well, I just walked into the Dupuis cottage and there Agathe was. She was making a hooked rug with her sister. Agathe had chosen the colours and made the design herself. I remember walking into the kitchen and finding them there. They seemed frightened at first. But I made them understand. My French isn't very fluent but I find I can make the habitants understand what I mean. She had designed a picture of the farm house, with sleighs and things like that, and she and her sister were working away. The kitchen looked clean, too, though I don't suppose it really was. She showed me designs for rugs which she had drawn on oil-cloth and I said to myself: 'Elise Summerfield, you must let people know what you have discovered.' And this is the result."

Mrs. Summerfield waved her hand toward the walls.

"This."

HORATIO CRUTCH joined them.

"Ha," he said, "the artist."

"Agathe," said Mrs. Summerfield, "c'est oon critike, et oon artist lui mame aussis. Vous cahmprenez?"

Mr. Crutch squeezed the girl's hand.

"What is French for prodigy?" he said. "Oh, I know. Mademoiselle, vous êtes un prodige immense."

"I'm afraid she doesn't quite understand you," said Mrs. Summerfield. "It doesn't matter though. Everything is so wonderful to her."

Mr. Dernary approached with another cocktail shaker.

"Will the little artist have one?" he said.

"No," said Mrs. Summerfield. "She won't take them, or cigarettes either. It's the mourning business again. You know, as I was just telling Mrs. Cole, she won't even go to the movies . . ."

"Come and see my choice," said Mr. Dernary.

They moved away toward Mr. Dernary's star. Two women came and stood by the girl's chair and talked about Picasso.

AGATHE DUPUIS rose unsteadily, half slipping off the smooth leather chair. She crossed the room, found her coat and overboots in the entrance hall, and went out into the street. No one noticed her departure.

Later Mrs. Summerfield was angry.

"These people, these peasants," she said. "They do not know the meaning of loyalty or affection. To rush off like that without a word and take the evening train to the mountains, and leaving me to send her luggage. The ingrate. After all I have done for her too."

THE FATE OF THE LABOUR PARTY

JOHN CRIPPS

THE results of the General Elections held in Great Britain in November are already well known. The "National" Government won 434 seats in the House of Commons with the support of 11,800,000 votes in the country. The Opposition Parties, with 10,100,000 votes, secured only 184 seats at Westminster. Among the Government's supporters there are no less than 389 Conservatives. By comparison the National Liberal and National Labour groups are insignificant; they are even less strong than they were before the dissolution of Parliament in October. In the Cabinet these latter groups are better represented, but their influence is more in line with their representation in the House of Commons, while the views expressed on their behalf now differ little from those of the most conventional members of the Conservative Party.

The Opposition to the Government is divided. There are four opposition groups with representation in the House of Commons, and of these the Labour Party is by far the largest. Of the 184 opposition members of Parliament, 154 are members of the Labour Party, whereas the Liberal Party has only 21, and the Independent Labour Party and the Communists have 4 and 1 members respectively.

SINCE 1931 the National Government has lost much support. Its numbers in the House of Commons have been reduced by 83, while its support in the country has fallen more than proportionally. The opposition parties, on the other hand, have made considerable gains in spite of the loss of 200,000 votes by the Liberals since 1931. There was an increase over 1931 of 1,400,000 in the opposition vote, and of 1,700,000 in that of the Labour Party.

The circumstances of the 1931 elections were, however, quite exceptional and there is a natural tendency to compare last month's results with those of the 1929 elections. As compared with the Conservative vote in 1929 the "National" vote is 3,000,000 larger, due to the fact that a large part of the Liberal Party is now included within it. Meanwhile the Labour Party, which, in 1929, still included within its ranks the Independent Labour Party, polled only a few thousand votes less than in the former year. The vote of the Independent Labour Party and the Labour Party combined was larger than ever it has been before. In spite of this fact these two parties between them hold only 158 seats in Parliament as compared with about 280 in 1929.

SUCH in broad outline were the results of the 1935 elections. The outstanding fact was the very large fall in the Liberal vote since 1929, and this goes a long way to explain the situation as it exists in Parliament today. In the earlier election there were a very large number of three-cornered fights, that is, contests with three candidates in the field representing the Conservative, Liberal, and Labour parties respectively in each constituency. Consequently the capitalist or anti-Labour vote was split over the larger part of the country and this

created a position very favourable for Labour. Even so it was only able to establish itself as the largest single party in the House of Commons by winning a number of seats by very narrow margins. This year, on the other hand, the number of three-cornered fights was much smaller and, in addition, there is a more widespread feeling that a vote for the Liberal Party is a vote wasted. Thus the fight was more clearly conducted on the issue of capitalism and socialism than ever before. Under such circumstances, with the two capitalist parties virtually united over a wide field, Labour needed a vote very much larger than ever it had won previously in order to gain a dominant position in the new Parliament and in the country at large. And this it failed to obtain.

THE "National" Government was able to hold a considerable part of that Liberal vote, which it won over in 1931. Where it failed to retain it, it did not go in very large degree to the Labour Party; in fact, a great many Liberals deliberately abstained from voting where there was no Liberal candidate in the field. For this there were many reasons. The Labour Party has won a great deal of support in previous elections on the peace issue as an upholder of the League of Nations. While the Conservative Party have never openly opposed the League, their support of that institution has been very half-hearted. On this occasion, however, Mr. Baldwin succeeded in completely outmanoeuvring his opponents on the issue of international affairs. After having given a very belated support to the League on the particular issue of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, Mr. Baldwin took the opportunity of calling an election a year before it was due at a time when he saw his opponents to be largely in agreement with him in his attitude to the League. At the same time the "National" Government combined with its support of the League the traditional Conservative policy of rearmament, which it put forward on this occasion in the name of collective security itself. Thus Mr. Baldwin was able at least to neutralize the effect of the Labour Party's propaganda of the last few years on international matters. At the same time, the attack of the Labour Party was substantially weakened by its readiness to deal with armaments as a separate issue and not as a part of the whole problem of international relations. Many attempts were made to show that we were in fact as well armed as any other country. But the Party would have been on much stronger ground if it had accepted the fact that we should need all the armaments we could get, if we were to continue to use the League of Nations as a bulwark of British imperialism. From that point it could have been argued very forcibly that the only way to get peace and make disarmament possible was to abolish British imperialism by getting rid of British capitalism and taking the lead in establishing a system of international economic co-operation.

MEANWHILE the "National" Government got more support for its domestic policies than is sometimes admitted. Many grave problems still remain unsolved and their existence is uppermost in the mind of everybody. But some improvement has taken place since 1931 and the Government claimed the credit for this improvement, even though much of it has taken place in spite of their efforts rather than because of them. And the supporters of the Government could at least claim that they had administered capitalism as well as anyone could be expected to administer it in difficult times. The limitations which the capitalist system imposes are everywhere apparent. They were admitted by Mr. Baldwin when he said that he could not promise to cure unemployment. But, so long as the system remains, the British capitalists are the best people to administer it. The fatal mistake made by many Labour Party candidates was their attempt to persuade the people that their party could administer capitalism better and get more reforms out of it, than could the "National" Government. The impossibility of such a task was apparent to many people. If the Labour Party had courageously faced up to the facts and had remained true to the principles to which it so often pays lip-service, it would have abandoned all claims to reform capitalism. And with a vigorous policy of socialism it would have instilled into its own supporters that enthusiasm which is essential for success, while it would no longer have been making promises which it could not fulfil.

SINCE the election there has been much discussion within the Labour Party about its failure to attract the support of more than a small part of the former Liberal vote. The leaders of the Party have, with few exceptions, reacted in a manner that bodes ill for the future. They have shown an inclination still further to avoid the real issue of socialism or capitalism by suggesting that the Party's programme must be considerably modified to win Liberal support. Many of us believe this line of reasoning to be utterly false. The Liberals, and especially the younger element among them, are more likely to be won over by a clear demonstration of the impossibility of achieving their aims under capitalism than by attempts to minimize the difficulties that lie in the way. A detailed analysis of Labour's vote at the recent elections seems to support this conclusion. Labour greatly increased its vote in the coal-mining areas all over the country. There is no doubt that this was in large part due to the determined campaign for better conditions that has been carried on by the miners' union in recent weeks. A strike ballot was taken on the three days preceding the day of the elections and this helped to focus attention upon the real issues at stake. By way of contrast the Labour Party made a very bad showing in the textile areas of Lancashire; many of the textile towns, predominantly working-class in nature, returned to Parliament representatives of the "National" Government. For this the policy of the textile unions was in part responsible. These unions are very reactionary in their policy and lack that aggressiveness which is so valuable

to the miners in their trade union and electoral struggles. There was nothing, therefore, in Lancashire to counteract the lack of inspiration in the programme of the Labour Party. The members of the Party were not fully aroused out of their state of discouragement, engendered by the events of 1931. Party organization inevitably suffered and with it the ability of the Party's spokesmen to appeal to their fellow-workers.

THERE were, of course, many other factors affecting the election results. No one can deny the tremendous personal ascendancy of Mr. Baldwin, who has won the confidence of the people as no other leader is able to today, and his position was strengthened by contrast with the lack of leadership in the Labour Party. Mr. Attlee had, at that time, only been elected as the temporary leader of the Party and, excellent as many of his qualities undoubtedly are, he is not born to be the leader of a great political movement. The divisions within the Labour Party over foreign policy at the Annual Conference a few weeks earlier were fresh in people's minds and they were magnified and misrepresented continually by a hostile press. Other forms of misrepresentation were employed by the "National" press; many variations of the post office savings scare were shamelessly repeated in spite of the refutation of it by prominent Conservatives after the 1931 elections, when it was first raised. It was said that people would lose their money and their houses and many other things, if the Labour Party were returned to office. As always happens, the Conservatives raised false issues of this sort because they were unable to argue the case on its merits with any assurance of success.

The Labour Party, however, cannot escape the whole responsibility for its failure to win a larger vote. It will have to consider its whole approach in the light of what happened on November 14th. There never was a greater need for a strong and decisive lead to capture the imagination of the younger generation and to win the confidence of the nation as a whole. In socialism we have both the idealism, which alone can provide a basis for enthusiasm within a party, and the practical means whereby that idealism can be translated into concrete fact. And the Labour Party will rise or fall according as it shows its determination to lead the way in the building of a Socialist Britain.



THEY HANGED JASPER COLLINS

JOHN FAIRFAX

NO one who has not witnessed the hanging of a man can have any but the faintest conception of the assault on human dignity involved in this method of taking life. If the method is (as many claim) a deterrent to would-be criminals, one may question the wisdom of barring spectators; the good old fashion of making a hanging a public festival has, on this score, much to be said for it. This account of a hanging is offered as a substitute for the real thing, and may serve some good purpose.

I was working on a Calgary newspaper at the time. The press was excluded from the hanging; but it was a temptation to a young reporter, and in order to witness the event I got myself appointed a member of the coroner's jury. This is the first time an eyewitness account of the hanging of Jasper Collins has appeared in print.

Jasper Collins was a young man about nineteen years of age who came to Canada from Missouri as hired man to a lawyer who had decided to homestead in Alberta. He murdered his employer with an axe and a revolver for his money, then set fire to the shack to cover the evidence. He was exonerated at the inquest and returned to Missouri, where his affluence roused suspicion among his victim's fellow Masons. They had the remains disinterred and a medical examination revealed marks on the skull and a hole through the heart. Collins was arrested, and on the way back to Calgary under Mounted Police escort he made a full confession. Following the preliminary hearing he was sent up for trial, convicted of murder and sentenced to be "hanged by the neck until he was dead".

IT was a cold, grey morning in late winter when Jasper Collins went to the scaffold. There was a sprinkling of snow around the foot of the rough scaffold in the courtyard of the Mounted Police barracks. The witnesses assembled in the enclosure were the sheriff and sheriff's officer, the jail physician, the coroner, one or two orderlies and the six men composing the coroner's jury. I had become used to the sight of fatalities and had developed something of the callousness that overtakes policemen, soldiers and newspapermen. But a "judicial murder" performed in cold blood in the grey dawn of a winter morning has a unique quality of the unreal and terrible. I found my knees trembling slightly. Jasper Collins, a slight youth, had, during his several weeks of jail confinement, lost further weight. He had scarcely strength enough to walk to the scaffold, and had to be helped up the ladder to the platform. Upon the trap door a chair had been placed, for he was too weak to stand. To this his arms and legs were bound with thongs. The canvas screen which surrounded the high platform veiled these preliminaries from all but the hangman, the jail physician and the clergyman who had mounted the scaffold with Collins. The little group in the courtyard below, shivering slightly in the cold air and glancing nervously at the under side of the trap door, huddled together in silence. Nerves

were tense, faces white. The suspense became intolerable. Now, we knew, the hangman was placing the hood over the condemned man's head; now he was tying the noose; now the clergyman was commending the soul of the murderer to his Maker.

THEN—with terrifying suddenness—came a creak and a confused clatter. Eyes focussed with horror on the scaffold . . . saw a thing plunge through a suddenly gaping hole, bounce as if hit by an unseen hand, and apparently fly to pieces. It was the chair, so oddly out of place, escaping from the burst thongs and flying off at a tangent, which gave the impression of dismemberment. The thing, like a slim sack, its upper part encircled by a smaller sack, spun and gyrated like a scare-crow flapping in the wind. A sob came from one of the watchers. One man put his hand to his mouth. A sharp signal came from someone . . . the slash of a knife at the swaying rope . . . the thing crumpled in the arms of a couple of orderlies and was laid out on a thin trestle table in the middle of the courtyard. The arms still twitched . . . one hand fell over the edge of the table and drew itself up again . . . a knee was raised and lowered . . . Great God! What was that horrible muffled moaning coming from the sack? One of the spectators rushed to a corner of the yard and was sick. Eyes searched eyes. "Is he still living, doctor?" The coroner shakes his head, but his handkerchief goes to his nose. He stands white and shaken by the table, while the thing twitches and groans as if in agony. "Can't we . . . isn't there anything . . . ?" A member of the jury murmurs the unspoken thought of the group. "He feels nothing, gentlemen. Just muscular reaction," says the coroner, recovering himself. But his eyes, too, are troubled, frightened. The twitchings and moans gradually subside, until the thing lies limp and still . . . a narrow heap of dingy clothing . . . the thing that had once been a man. It is borne into the barracks. Attendants unlumber the table. Already others are divesting the scaffold of its enshrouding curtain. The ladder is taken away.

THE little group disintegrates. A nervous and subdued sprinkle of conversation spoke up. The man who was sick talks excitedly, as if to cover his weakness, but his face is deadly pale. They wander about, questioning, wondering, awaiting the autopsy report. The coroner reappears with the doctor who performed the autopsy. "Gentlemen," says the physician, "I have examined the deceased and I find that death was due to partial dislocation of the two upper vertebrae in the neck and to asphyxiation, or suffocation. There were no signs of complete dislocation, commonly called a broken neck, and while the spinal cord was strained and the ligaments of the spinal column stretched, there was no haemorrhage of the spinal canal. My examination was made, I am informed, fifteen minutes after the body was cut down. At that time life was not extinct. There was nothing, however, to indicate

consciousness." To questions by the jurors the doctor replied that it would be possible for a man in this condition to be conscious of pain, but not probable. It was impossible, he declared, to say definitely that he did not feel pain after he was cut down.

The coroner's jury rendered the following verdict: "We find that Jasper Collins died . . . as a result of partial dislocation of the neck and suffocation caused by being hanged by the neck following the sentence of death . . . We further desire to add that in our opinion the sentence of the court was not carried out, owing to the fact that the said Jasper Collins was not hanged by the neck until he was dead but was, contrary to the sentence of the court, cut down by the executioner before life was extinct. We further desire to express our dissatisfaction with the manner in which the execution was carried out by the hangman, and we feel that in the interests of justice and of the public weal there should be an investigation in order that future executions should be carried out properly. We further desire to add that we do not in any way censure any other officials."

I cannot discover that anything was ever done about it. Perhaps the hangman was given a curtain lecture; perhaps, for all I know, he lost his job. Anyway, hangings still go on. And so far as I can see, the same thing that happened in Jasper Collins' case might happen again. Perhaps it is a good thing; and if you have "criminal tendencies" this true story may some day prevent you from committing murder.

A Letter

The Editor,

The Canadian Forum,

Toronto, Ontario.

Sir,—I was so intrigued by Mr. Underhill's picture (in your December number) of the massed money power of St. James Street moving in force upon Queen's to remove my humble and inoffensive head as a polite and gentle warning to the new Principal of McGill, that I bestirred myself to get a copy of Sir Edward Beatty's speech. When I finished reading it I knew that the tentative impression formed after reading Mr. Underhill was correct. He is the most nearly Irish of all Canadian writers and stimulating though his writing is, one is apt to end with the same feeling that beset Mr. H. W. Nevins in Dublin " . . . and sometimes I came away from the friendliest gatherings feeling like a man who has been most skilfully operated on for a disease he never had. . . . Nowhere else could I listen to conversation so copious, so imaginative, so envenomed, so free from boredom and the wearisome trammels of accurate information." Mr. Underhill sees Sir Edward coming "roaring up at them (equilibrium economists), like a traffic cop" as a means of confusing the issues surrounding the Canadian railway problem and ending with a masked appeal for a fascist house-cleaning of the Universities which would cast out all who did not bow down before the god of business as currently carried on. Over against that picture, I would like to set two quotations from Sir Edward's speech:

(a) . . . I do not say it because men now attack those institutions, and that system of society which my generation found right. I say quite honestly that I believe in free thought and free speech. I believe that men must carry their logical process of reason to the point to which it leads them, regardless of the consequences. If, by reason, you become a communist and believe that those who have been called under the present system to be leaders in the business world are public enemies and dangerous to the state, it is your plain duty to follow the path of reason and to condemn them, with such mercy as their ignorance deserves. It is assuredly your duty to tell the people of the nation how public enemies and dangers to the state are to be eliminated from our public life.

I implore you, however, to be quite sure of what you know. I do not ask that for those whom you might condemn. Their individual fate, the wreck of private fortunes, the destruction of great institutions, cannot be good reason for delay in doing what must be done. The world has been built on a foundation into which men and their fortunes have been trampled. (pp. 7-8).

(b) . . . My reason is that we must place intellectual freedom above everything, and nothing could be more improper than for those who have attained to some power in our public life to condemn the results of genuine logical research merely because they do not agree with our own preconceived ideas, or perhaps, even worse, because they tend to thwart our own plans. No man is more than human, and no man can free himself entirely from prejudice produced by habit and by interest. With every warning to you, therefore, that what I say must be weighed by the standard of my own reliability as a witness, . . . (p. 12).

It may be that, belonging as I do to a University where freedom is taken for granted, I am unable to perceive the subtle undertones of menace in this speech, but no matter how hard I try I find it impossible to be terrified by a fascist who talks like that. Indeed, thanks to Mr. Underhill, I feel a new and hitherto undreamed of community of interest between Sir Edward and the equilibrium economists. As one of them (and so by Mr. Underhill's definition a Caspar Milquetoast) I extend greetings to Sir Edward as a brother in spirit, a Caspar Milquetoast among Fascists.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

—JOHN L. McDOUGALL.



BOOKS



THOMAS WOLFE

IT was no rash burst of enthusiasm which hailed Thomas Wolfe as a novelist of indubitable promise on the basis of one book, "Look Homeward Angel", which bore generous signs of greatness. No one at all sensitive to creative power could doubt the force of its originality, the impact of its content and style, its profound dramatic intensity. Critics were hesitant about making any definite predictions of greatness. After all, this was his first novel; the second would prove the real test. But John Chamberlain, reviewing the novel in *The Bookman* in 1929, felt that it could hardly be regarded as a flash in the pan. The book was successful for good reasons. It marked, perhaps, the first break with the photographic realism of Sinclair Lewis, the naturalistic fidelity of Dreiser, the violence and cruelty of Hemingway and Faulkner. He utilized their technique when he found it useful but he belonged to no literary school. His outlook was essentially romantic but he employed a method best suited to his material. "Look Homeward Angel" possessed sharpness of outline and accuracy of detail, combined with an understanding of human nature that transcended the literal and the external. It was suffused with compassion, a sense of brooding pity, rare in contemporary writing. All this was interpenetrated by an imagination that viewed life from a point far above the monotony of daily existence, and by a passion that rose above the bounds of common life and invested human fate with a terrible grandeur. If "Sanctuary", for example, communicates a sensation of chill terror, Thomas Wolfe communicates a feeling of moving and authentic beauty.

IN many respects he is endowed with the elements which help in the building of a legend. He is six feet, five inches tall; he eats with gusto and with a gargantuan appetite; he writes like one possessed. The first novel, he declared, swelled up within him like a raincloud. To a reporter he confessed: "I've been learning about writing like hell in the last four years. You might say I've worked like hell." This was no idle boast; he is amazingly prolific. "Of Time and The River" was reduced from 700,000 words to a more manageable 450,000. It was the second of a series of six novels he planned to write, totalling about 5,000,000 words, which will portray the development of America during the last century and a half. "Pacific End" will cover the years from 1791 to 1884. "The Hills Beyond Pentland" will deal with the period between 1838 and 1926. "Look Homeward, Angel" began with 1884 and ended in 1920. "Of Time and The River" compassed the five years between 1920 and 1925. "The October Fair" confines itself to a narrower stretch, 1925-1928. Finally, "The Death of The Enemy"

will complete the trek of time from 1928 to 1933.

"Of Time And The River" is an astonishing book. It towers like a rugged mountain above the contemporary literature landscape. Whatever the critics have said or may still say about it, they seem to agree on one point: it is imbued with an extraordinary vitality and it is instinct with lyricism and splendor. It is the work of a man drunk with the wine of life, intoxicated with the rich multiplicity of sensations, emotions and thoughts. Indeed, it is this almost frenzied vehemence, this unbridled excess of emotion and perception which so definitely stamps his work as individual.

THE reaction to the naturalistic novel with its emphasis on psychopathology, was bound to come. Naturalistic fiction lacks exaltation, the tragic intensity of vision which makes man of central importance in the universe. It is bitter and pessimistic in its conclusions. But the tide turned with the advent of "Anthony Adverse." That dream-like allegory of adventure and love in a glamorous past, in a world of refined sensuality and wealth and noble striving, paved the way for "Of Time And The River". The popularity of the latter novel is understandable. It is the saga of youth, superbly told, catching all the glory and hunger of youth. There are the weaknesses, of course, that are inseparable from any ambitious effort. But they are weaknesses that stand nakedly exposed, weaknesses inherent in the scheme and structure of the tale, weaknesses that are consistent with the nature of the experiences described. In many of its passages, the book is sheer poetry; it is mystical and obsessed, profound and naive at the same time.

THOMAS WOLFE is young and like many novelists in their early stages, he feels tempted to reveal everything. Everything that he has felt, known, yearned for, is described. He lives and writes at such high pressure that he evidently does not realize that he is frequently irrelevant and diffuse; the plot is retarded by essays on his reading, philosophic dissertations on time, love, death and fame. Despite these choral interludes, which are essentially incompatible with the form of the novel, the book is unified because it revolves around the central character of Eugene Gant. He is individual and universal, an atom and a cosmos, man aching, sensual, drunk, foolish and generic, lifting his fist against the sky of fate in reckless defiance, taking the pilgrimage that all must take to death. Although Wolfe has an enormous lust for new experiences, he is not satisfied with experience alone, and this differentiates him sharply from the novelists of the naturalistic school. He strives manfully to under-

stand, to ask again questions that have never really been answered. It is this faculty of vision, this Faustian metaphysical longing, which makes this book, as well as the earlier one, a vast and fruitful allegory of the modern soul. In explaining the central design for his work, Thomas Wolfe said: "I guess the general plan back of these books is the story of a man's looking for his father. Everybody in the world—not only men, but women—are looking for a father. Looking for someone of superior strength. Some person outside of themselves to whom they can attach their belief."

THE author's comments on America, like so many of his critical reflections, do not betray deep insight. It is only when he describes and experiences or longs for more life that his prose burns with the fire of truth; when he begins to speculate he falls into loose generalities. Americans, it seems to him, are "so lost, so naked and so lonely." "Immense and cruel skies bend over us, and all of us are driven on forever and we have no home." America is vast, solitary. It is a fabulous country nevertheless, a land to be proud of, the one place "where miracles can not only happen but happen all the time." With remarkable gusto he retails the characteristics and beauties of this land. Many of these descriptions resemble a poem by Whitman but they are more artistically done, with more scrupulous regard for details and words. His account of life at Harvard and his glimpse of the "passionate enigma of New England" constitute a prose poem, exuberant, overflowing with hyperbolic indiscretions. Yet he has caught the spirit of the place, the genius of Boston, temporarily fallen in love with New England. The best parts of the book, indeed, are those dealing with native material. After Eugene leaves America for England and France, Wolfe's style loses some of its fervour and eloquence; the note becomes forced, the music often literary. He is writing, one suspects, for writing's sake. Avariciously he is cramming all kinds of information into his brain; fastening gestures, faces, conversations, scenes and ideas on paper, lest he forget them and they be lost.

As for himself, Thomas Wolfe has found in the history of his own family "all the substance and energy of the human drama." Art he regards, in short, as fundamentally autobiographical. "Of Time And the River" is unmistakably a confession, a creative revelation of himself and the family from which he sprang. His sisters and brothers and uncles were full of the folly and passions, the ambitions and frustrations of all living creatures; they were "not to be praised nor blamed, but just blood, bone, marrow, passion and feeling—the whole swarming web of life and error in full play and magnificently alive". There speaks the artist. People are not to be judged by moral standards, neither praised nor condemned. They are to be understood for what they are and loved.

HIS prose may be either considered as a superb achievement or as a memorable failure. It has the stamp of recorded experiences deeply felt, it flows with symphonic amplitude, it is rich and resonant and in the grand tradition. Above all, it is

dynamic. His style brings to mind the majestic sweep, although not the simplicity, of the Bible, the contrapuntal music of De Quincey's prose, the sonorous tonalities of Whitman's poetry. But, although the influence of his intensive reading is apparent, it does not result in weak, flabby imitation. He does not ape any writer.

Unfortunately Wolfe has attempted to cover too vast a canvas, to include too much within the framework of his conception. Just as he has endeavoured to experience every variety of sensation, to read all books ever printed, visit all secret places of the earth and absorb their essence, so the book in style, form and treatment is a kaleidoscopic medley of diverse literary influences. He will no doubt grow in restraint and therefore in power; and in time he will learn that the quality of the incommunicable, no matter how obsessive, cannot be suggested by a riotous welter of sensuous and sonorous phrases.

In his latest book*, Wolfe again weaves magnificent phrases about wild, intolerable longings, exultant joys, old unsearchable mysteries. In this volume the stories range from "Only The Dead Know Brooklyn", an ingenious evocation of the atmosphere and idiom of the southern section of that sprawling, unexplored borough, to "The Face Of The War", an incisive study, in episodic flashes, of the brutality that war engenders. In style and method they strikingly resemble "Of Time And The River". They, too, are largely autobiographical, free from any unifying principle except that imposed upon them by the imagination and arresting personality of the author. He is the protagonist, spectator, chorus, creator and philosopher all rolled into one. For instance, "Death The Proud Brother" is no more than an impressionistic description of three violent deaths in Manhattan and of one who died obscurely in the subway, but Wolfe paints each scene with such vividness and sympathy that the story comes to life. Besides this story, "Dark In The Forest" and "The Bums At Sunset" reveal him at his best.

WOLFE, however, is not at ease in the cramped space of the short story, which calls for condensation, economy of means and unity of effect. He is prodigal of words and lets his imagination roam at will, without regard for the requirements of form. Plot is subordinated to the art of recording subjective states. The impressionistic method is employed to suggest man's pitiful plight in an alien and incalculable universe.

But no writer of recent years has shown such promise as Wolfe. Many clever and brilliant novels have been published, but their authors have been identified with some movement, some cause. Thomas Wolfe stands alone. There is some warrant for the prediction of one critic who declared that if Wolfe matured with his hero, "he will not be merely an important figure in American literary history, he will be America's greatest novelist". One looks forward with anticipation to that monument of prose, a fictional epic of his country, which he is now in the process of shaping.

CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG.

*From *Death To Morning*: Scribner's; \$2.50

The Vortex of European Militarism

THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POSITION OF ITALY, issued by the Information Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London; second edition, Sept., 1935; Toronto, Oxford University Press; pp. 64; 60 cents.

ABYSSINIA AND ITALY, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, August, 1935; Toronto, Oxford University Press; pp. 48; 75 cents.

SANCTIONS, issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, Sept., 1935; Toronto, Oxford University Press; pp. 64; 60 cents.

ABYSSINIA, by Vigilantes; published by the New Statesman and Nation, London, Sept., 1935; pp. 62; sixpence; (also reprinted along with addresses by Sir Samuel Hoare and others, in International Conciliation, Nov., 1935; published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York; monthly pamphlet series, 5 cents a copy or 25 cents per year.)

IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES IN ETHIOPIA, by Wm. Koren, Jr.; Foreign Policy Reports, Sept., 1935; published fortnightly by the Foreign Policy Association, New York; 25 cents a copy or \$5.00 per year.

THE LEAGUE AND THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS, by Vera Micheles Dean; Foreign Policy Reports, 6 Nov., 1935; published fortnightly by the Foreign Policy Association, New York; 25 cents a copy or \$5.00 per year.

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT ETHIOPIA? issued by a Committee representative of the Italian community of Toronto; Italian Publishing Co., 12 Elm St., Toronto; pp. 60; 25 cents.

MOST Canadian communities have not been quite so badly served by their local newspapers as has Toronto during the development of the present Italo-Ethiopian crisis, and there is probably a wider understanding in Canada of what lies behind current events in Europe at this time than there has ever been before. Nevertheless, almost any Canadian citizen could profit by a perusal of the pamphlets listed above (along with the World Peace Foundation pamphlet, *Rivalries in Ethiopia*, by Elizabeth MacCallum, which was reviewed in the December number of the Canadian Forum). The three publications of the Royal Institute of International Affairs provide an admirable analysis of every aspect of the situation, and the study of the problem involved in sanctions is especially valuable. The two Reports of the Foreign Policy Association display on the whole a somewhat more cynical tone of realism in discussing these same events, but both series of publications provide a service which is indispensable to the reader who wants to make himself genuinely informed on European affairs. The pro-Italian pamphlet at the end of the list is simply propaganda and glosses over all weak points in the Italian case; "the plan of Mussolini appears as a partnership between the Italian people and the Ethiopians". But it can very profitably be read by any sentimentalists who are labouring under delusions as to the real nature of the regime of Haile Selassie.

The New Statesman pamphlet is worth special attention. Its authors, who hide their identity under the pseudonym of Vigilantes, are a group of specialists who act in the capacity of what we in North America would call a brain trust for the Labour

party on foreign affairs. It is significant that their powerful attack upon the past policy of the "national" government and their far-reaching proposals for international reconstruction on socialist lines should be reprinted for American consumption by the Carnegie Endowment, which usually confines itself to innocuous platitudes.

The Vigilantes group make several important points. They regard as useless any redistribution of colonies or raw materials under the present capitalist regime. A policy of concessions of this kind, unless it goes on to something more, is one not of peace but of Danegeld. "It is the existence of sovereignty and imperialism which is in itself a cause of war, and not any particular pattern or allocation of existing sovereignties and imperialisms. The only way of changing the international status quo that will make for peace instead of merely changing the incidence of the next war is a move in the direction of world government based on economic internationalism and social justice, and applying the principle of international trusteeship and the open-door to all non-self-governing territories." Especially do they point out that the desire of the present governments in Italy, Germany, and Japan to change the international status quo "is merely part of the desperate attempts of these regimes to stereotype their domestic status quo The war spirit is the drug with which they must inoculate the minds of their people in order to stultify the demand for sweeping social change which they cannot satisfy". But the fascist states are not the only ones engaged in stifling these demands for social change. "The difference between the nationalist dictatorships and the reactionary governments in the Western democracies is a difference of degree rather than of kind, for both exist in order to preserve the existing economic order, and both have fallen back on nationalism and the fear of war as their last refuge and psychological barrier against the demand for sweeping social change." The problem of peace involves the problem of social reconstruction.

They propose that Britain should take the initiative in starting a Peace and Pooled Defence Group within the League. The members of this group would pool their defence forces into a single unit, set up joint control of their inter-state transport and communications, nationalize and pool their munitions industries, pool their state debts, central banks and gold reserves, establish international investment, marketing and planning boards, and in fact form the nucleus out of which a world federation of socialist commonwealths might grow. Membership would start with democratic and socialist states (i.e., with Britain, Russia, the Scandinavian States, and perhaps France). The group would form from the start "a proselytizing force which would tend to demoralize and disintegrate all militarist and Fascist regimes . . . and these regimes would be destroyed from within in a few years (not later than the next great capitalist slump), if deprived of the prestige they have hitherto enjoyed through successful aggression and blackmail".

It is needless to remark that ideas such as these go far beyond the range of thinking of those Elder Statesmen in Canada who have appropriated the League as their own private property during the last few months and who are earnestly excommunicating all such heretics as may be reluctant to use the Geneva machinery simply for the purpose of defending the status quo.

—FRANK H. UNDERHILL.

THE SOVIET UNION AND WORLD PROBLEMS:

A. A. Troyanovsky, I. V. Boyeff, V. Romm, H. Kohn, and M. W. Graham; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1935. \$2.50.

THIS volume is a collection of papers read before the Harris Foundation Institute at Chicago in the summer of 1935. These describe in readable fashion the principal developments which have taken place during the past few years in those aspects of Soviet life which relate especially to world affairs. There are chapters on foreign policy, planned foreign trade, geographic tendencies, the treatment of minorities and the peace policy, all prepared by experts in those subjects. In addition there are valuable appendices, containing such texts as the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance, parts of Stalin's report on the nationality policy, and economic statistical data presented in graph form. As one might expect from its source, the book, though brief, is of high quality.

Amongst the various papers that of H. Kohn on the Nationality Policy of the Soviet Union, and V. Romm's description of the State Monopoly of Foreign Trade, are perhaps the most interesting. The legal and cultural equality of races is a striking contrast to the conditions prevailing under the old regime. "Racial hatred in the Soviet Union," says Mr. Troyanovsky, "evokes general contempt and indignation"—a statement that might well be pondered over by the authorities who must preserve Jewish liberties in Quebec and the rights of Asiatics in British Columbia. At the same time Mr. Kohn is frank enough to admit that though the minorities have legal equality and "their own" schools, they are not permitted to have minority opinions upon political matters. The rights protected are cultural and linguistic and the right to equality of opportunity before the law, but naturally do not include any greater liberties than are permitted the ordinary Russian.

Mr. Romm's chapter should be recommended to all economists of the orthodox capitalist schools. Here is a simple description of the technique of planned foreign trade. It is too late now to argue whether or not planning is possible; we may as well argue whether a heavier-than-air machine is capable of flying. The thing is happening. "Thanks to the system of planned foreign trade," says Mr. Romm, "the government has the possibility of ensuring that only such quantities and kinds of goods will be sold abroad the export of which will in no way affect adversely the growth of the national economy." Foreign trade, in other words, instead of occurring wherever a private manufacturer sees a personal profit (as for instance in selling arms to

a foreign hostile power), occurs now only where it will promote the national well-being as determined by the government. The concept of social value as distinct from private gain is introduced as a deliberate determining factor.

The success of the Five-Year plans in freeing the U.S.S.R. from dependence on foreign powers for machine-building equipment is well demonstrated in the graphs, as too is the remarkably constant increase in industrial production and national income since 1928, despite the capitalist (not world) crisis. The Soviet Union at first startled the western world by its theories; unless something unforeseen occurs it will soon startle us again, this time by its incontrovertible success. The second scare will be harder to laugh off than the first—particularly if it should coincide with our next depression.

—F. R. SCOTT.

STEEL OF EMPIRE: John Murray Gibbon; Toronto, McClelland and Stewart; pp. 423. \$3.50.

The net effect of C.P.R. propaganda during the past two decades has been to consolidate a strong body of opinion which is highly critical of the C.P.R. Our railway magnates should have learnt from study of the manner in which John D. Rockefeller, his family and his Standard Oil Company, were sold to the American public after their days of unpopularity in the muck-raking era, that the way to become popular is to avoid the impression that you are always defending yourself or giving advice to the public. This book should not be considered at all as railway propaganda, it is much too good and scholarly for that; but it will provide the most effective propaganda for the C.P.R. that has ever been issued since the days of Van Horne. The author has given a most readable account of the early efforts to find a way by water or by land across the continent and of the building of the great transcontinental railway which he rightly treats as the culmination of all those efforts so far as Canada is concerned. He tells in detail the story of the engineering and financial struggles through which the C.P.R. pioneers had to go and he gives a very competent account of the political difficulties which Stephen and Van Horne had to surmount in the early days. He writes naturally from the point of view of the railway and sometimes tends to give a rather unfair impression that when individuals or groups caused trouble to the promoters it was because of a lack of vision. His account of the C.P.R. in the later days is one-sided, but for a C.P.R. man to avoid a certain amount of partiality on this topic would require superhuman abilities. Altogether Mr. Gibbon has given us a very fine book which will appeal both to the ordinary reader and to the more specialist student.

—F. H. U.



ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE: CANADA, FRANCE, SWEDEN AND SWITZERLAND: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc.

THIS is a concise and thorough study of four public employment services and the unemployment insurance systems of France and Switzerland, with a brief outline of the Swedish unemployment insurance law of 1934. Our own Unemployment Insurance Act receives only incidental mention, doubtless because it is not yet operative.

Each division of the book opens with an admirable short chapter on General Features of the Labour Market in each of the countries covered: total population, density, number and distribution of the gainfully employed, relative importance of agriculture and industry in the national economy, dependence on immigrant labour, growth of large scale industry, relative expansion and decline of leading industries, extent and type of trade union organization, seasonal and casual employment, history of the emergence of the problem of unemployment. Against this background, essential to an adequate understanding of the subject, the authors then sketch in the development, organization and procedure of the employment services, appraisals of their work, and, for France and Switzerland, the development and present position of unemployment insurance.

The introductory chapters of each division will be of great interest and value to anyone who wishes to understand the economic position of the countries concerned. The other chapters are necessarily rather specialized, but should be valuable not only to the organizers and administrators of the new United States Employment Service and the American business men and labour leaders who must work with it—for whom the book was originally intended—but to all students of social legislation.

—EUGENE FORSEY.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION: Edited by John Lewis, Karl Polanyi and Donald K. Kitchin; Gollancz-Ryerson; pp. 526; \$1.75.

This book should be read equally by Communists and Socialists and orthodox Christians, not only because it presents the unwonted spectacle of Communist-Christian collaboration, but because of what it will mean for each group to see its faith examined from the point of view of the other. Communists will learn of the fundamental attitude toward radical social change that is possible on Christian grounds, and of what can be said for the view that Christianity cannot be ignored by Socialists and Communists. Christians in their turn will, through coming face to face with Marxist realism, be convicted of the indirection and absence of concreteness of much of their own thinking. No Christian thinker has arisen during the past century to contribute on Christian premises an analysis of history and human conditions that is comparable in penetration and completeness to the one constructed by

Marx on his realization of the concrete applicability of the principles perfected by Hegel as to their ideal form. The lack in this sense of a Christian "dialectic" is a handicap to the Christian forces in their social effort; Christian readers will find in this book not a few hints of the way this defect might be overcome.

All the contributors share the belief that Communism and Christianity are relevant to each other, and have to such extent common roots and aims that hostility ought to be replaced by search for a point of conjunction and for the basis of effectual and fruitful alliance. The last essay in the book, by Professor John Macmurray, is frankly an attempted synthesis, resting on the notion that "the main structural principles of Communism are either identical with, or implied in, those of Christianity". The tendency among Church people to think of Christianity as "alternative to Communism", or of the world as rapidly approaching the point where it must make a straight choice between them, makes the issue too simple. Christianity and Communism are both here to remain as constructive forces in bringing the new world order. On this account there is peculiar timeliness about a book that treats the chief historic phases of Christianity and Communism, the sociological and ideological factors that have gone to the shaping of each severally or in some cases of both conjointly, and the contribution which at the present time each can make to the other.

—J. LINE.

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF CANADA: Mary Quayle Innis; Ryerson Press; pp. 302.

"WHY is it," asked Professor Fay a few years ago, "that no one has written an economic history of Canada in a few hundred pages, something as good as, or better than, the text-books which exist by the dozen for England, by the half-dozen in the United States, and by ones at least for Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand." Such a book Mrs. Innis has now written, and it is one of the better kind.

There has been a great deal of excavation among comparatively untouched and inaccessible documents such as the collection published by Professors Innis and Lowther. Upon these Mrs. Innis has been able to depend, as well as upon her husband's notable historical works, and the recent papers to the Canadian Political Science Association. The backbone of Canadian economic theory now exists, though the vertebrae still needed to be put in place.

The author's method is to tell the history of institutions, industry and trade in terms of the succession of great commodities upon which they are based—namely, fish, fur, lumber and wheat—and to stress the importance of changes in technique, as from wind to steam and from wood to iron. She has done this in a clear narrative style, and the result is surprisingly effective. The introduction is one of the most charming bits of economic literature one could hope to find. The book

has weaknesses, some of them unavoidable: the quotations from documents appear at times undigested and undigestable, necessarily so perhaps in view of the large amount of work that still remains to be done in this field; more stress might have been put on the background of European developments, particularly the industrial revolution in England and the demand it created for construction materials and food for a rising industrial population.

The gaps in our knowledge of the industrial superstructure based upon the staple products naturally loom largest for the years 1900-1913, the period of wheat's rise to paramount importance, of the new invasion of the Canadian shield by mines, pulp and paper mills, and hydro-electric plants, and of the rapid growth of manufacturing in the East. A focus of interest here is the question of labour. One is continually struck by such phrases as: "labour was beginning to decline before the rise of capital". Study of the position of labour (though not necessarily in terms of the conventional "labour problem") is urgently needed for an understanding of the period of swift industrialization.

But the important thing is that Canadian economic history is gradually being written, as Mrs. Innis' excellent bibliography shows. Her book should serve to stimulate a more general interest among Canadians, and a desire among students to undertake some of the badly needed work. When the results of such work begin to be apparent let us hope that she will write the next and more nearly definitive general economic history of Canada. Her first has a sound basis.

—BETTY RATZ.

THE TITANIC: E. J. Pratt; MacMillans of Canada. \$1.50.

THE DANCE IN THE BUFFALO SKULL: W. Clark Sandercock; Reginald Saunders. \$2.00.

THERE are thirteen ways of looking at a black-bird, as Wallace Stevens has made eternally clear. No doubt there are as many ways in which a poet may write about the Titanic. Mr. Pratt has chosen one of the better ways. His treatment has the great virtue of being "unpoetic" in the evil sense of that word. He avoids apostrophe, abstract emotion, melodrama, sentimentality. Using the crisp narrative style made familiar to us through his earlier work, he builds up an intensely dramatic effect out of the economic use of unpretentious material. The realistic description of ordinary conversations and commonplace incidents of passenger life, heightens the sense of impending, inevitable doom. Nowhere does the poet obscure or deliberately interpret the event.

The actors in that superfluous disaster were not great men and women. They were ordinary mortals—innocent, trusting, stupid or merely rich. They died in no cause. Careless navigation flung them to death and history; a few examples of self-sacrifice, told simply by Mr. Pratt, added a late heroic touch. An essential element in the story is the

mechanical inadequacy of man's vast toy in face of those forces of destruction a quiet sea could muster. This conflict of steel and ice Mr. Pratt succeeds notably in making real. It is his especial quality, to sense the animation in the non-human. Though it is not stated, one almost suspects him of approving secretly the victory of his beloved sea over the arrogance of man. That being so, he was right in selecting the iceberg rather than the ship as a frontispiece, though this is no justification for the incongruity.

The Dance in the Buffalo Skull, unlike Mr. Pratt's work, is a good example of the orthodox tradition in Canadian poetry. Mr. Sandercock does not wander from the normal field of poetic interest, writing of things Canadian as no one but a Canadian can. His verse forms range through all the romantic variants, the rhymes dictating the idea and the metre undisturbed by experiment. The tensions of contemporary life do not impinge on his world of modest sensation, and the reader who likes poetry to comfort and appease will sample these lyrics without offence. The verses inspired by the Northern Lights express emotions that none has failed to feel when confronted with this particular eccentricity, and the introduction to the volume reminds us that the title poem "could scarcely have been written by one who was not familiar, from boyhood, with the wild life of the prairie."

—F. R. SCOTT.

PLATO'S THOUGHT: By G. M. A. Grube; Methuen, Reginald Saunders, pp. 320. \$3.75.

THE study of Plato's philosophy, while a task of extraordinary fascination, must ever remain peculiarly difficult and perplexing. The Dialogues, which we are fortunate enough to possess in their entirety, were written during a period of over 40 years by a philosopher who continually advanced in breadth and profundity as he wrote. And even though the researches of scholars have smoothed our path by settling the most important details of the chronological order of his writings, there is still one difficulty from which we cannot escape. By adopting the dramatic form which was so admirably suited to his talent, Plato deliberately turned his back upon the task of constructing a well-defined system of philosophy. Moreover he himself insists that the only instruction worth while is that which is communicated directly from person to person, and he disparages the value of books, which cannot answer the questions which we would put to them.

The difficulty, then, of composing a systematic treatise upon this most unsystematic of authors is immense; and the tendency during recent years has been to write volumes which contain analytical or critical presentations of all the dialogues chronologically arranged. Two admirable books of this type are Shorey's *What Plato Said*, and A. E. Taylor's *Plato, the Man and His Work*. Professor Grube, however, in *Plato's Thought*, has pursued a different method. Selecting eight topics which are of fundamental importance in the study of Plato's philosophy, he examines each of them in turn, tracing the

development of Plato's doctrine in the treatment of these several topics, from the earliest Socratic dialogues to the mature works of the philosopher's old age. The result is a work of exceptional value alike for students who read Plato in the original and for those who depend upon translations. The author's scholarship is sound, his views and interpretations are sane, his presentation of the evidence is frank and impartial; and he has carefully avoided the pitfall of expounding Plato's doctrine in the technical vocabulary of modern philosophy. The book opens, as it should do, with an examination of the "Theory of Ideas", the foundation of the Platonic system; and this most difficult subject is treated with admirable lucidity. There are a few details which we would question. Perhaps, for instance, the author takes the famous Platonic Number in the Republic too seriously when he says, "The Platonic Number is the Idea of the Good, or at any rate one aspect of the supreme Idea, mythologically represented." The humorous appeal for assistance to the Muses would suggest that Socrates is amusing himself. Glaucon is somewhat too quick in accepting a dithyrambic outburst of which he understands nothing, and Socrates solemnly insists that the Muses must be right: after which Glaucon hastily changes the subject. But such details are of little importance, and the fact that it is easier to find fault with occasional details than with broader matters of interpretation is in itself an indication of the value of the book. The topics selected for treatment are such that the author is able to make a complete survey of the philosophy of Plato in a book which is by no means too long and which is interesting and stimulating throughout. It may be very heartily recommended to all lovers of Plato and to all those who are eager to enter upon a study of the greatest of all philosophers.

—W. D. WOODHEAD.

IT CANNOT BE STORMED: Ernest von Saloman; Translated by M. S. Stephens; Jonathan Cape-Nelson. \$2.00.

ANOTHER novel on the well-worked theme of Germany in the period just before Hitler's advent to power. The ex-soldier adventurer, Iverson, has taken part as a journalist and terrorist in the campaign launched against the Republic by the hard pressed farmers in Schleswig. He drifts to Berlin, there to move between groups of Nazis, Communists, Bohemians and profiteers. There is an endless series of "philosophic" discussions of the moral and material plight of Germany. The action is slow and extremely slight, the dialogue no more than a string of extension lectures on economics and world history. The patience of the listeners at these little conferences is most impressive. The clarity of thought is beyond praise: "Returning to the phenomenon of transference of consciousness, Pareigat said he regarded it as a result of the pretentious attempt conditioned by the passing generation, of the individual to free himself from the dynamic

unity of life, an attempt which had succeeded constructively through the disruption of this unity." The mountains of verbiage mean nothing in themselves; taken in the aggregate they do, however, create the impression of a helpless and hopeless and futile Germany, which could find no solution to its problem, other than the headlong rush into the arms of the one great force which was capable of action—Reaction wearing the disguise of National Socialism. Without access to the original it is not possible to judge the translation quite fairly. Its frequent obscurities may be all the fault of the translator himself.

—CECIL LEWIS.

SUNSET IN EBONY: William Strange; Macmillans, pp. 305. \$2.00.

Sunset in Ebony is a boldly drawn, swiftly moving tale of a critical day in the life of two oil-drillers in a remote lagoon on a tropical island. It is a novel of action and atmosphere, rather than of character; the characters, while adequately indicated, are confined to the amount of detail that is significant and essential for the understanding and motivation of the action. Between the clearing of the early morning mist from the lagoon, and the settling of the evening mist at the close of the same day, is developed, without haste and without lagging, an action which seriously, and in some cases decisively affects the lives of all those directly or indirectly concerned with the completion of the drilling.

Comparison with the photoplay, *Oil For The Lamps of China* is almost inevitable, but not very fruitful: for oddly enough, the play is epic in quality, and the novel dramatic, even to the extent of observing the unities of time and action, though not of place. There is, however, not the slightest sense of cramping or incompleteness, but a rounded and satisfactory unity, emphasized and thrown into relief by the single minor strand left deliberately hanging loose.

The main interest is centred on the two white drillers at work on the well; but the fate of their black helpers is inevitably implicated in their haste to complete the task, and there is an ironical subplot interwoven, sketching with a nice effect of contrast the influence of the well's existence on the life of the London financier who is chiefly concerned with its development. The story is vividly and economically told, with the attention never allowed to swerve too far from the main theme. Even the most violent scenes are rendered with a rapid and effective restraint. The atmosphere, which is of critical importance in the development of the situation, is sustained with equally telling brevity, and the interweaving of the various strands of the story displays a nice sense of timeliness and proportion. The ending has at once dramatic surprise and dramatic propriety. Altogether, an absorbing story, very effectively told.

—L. A. MACKAY.

The Canadian Forum

THE FIRE OF LIFE: Henry W. Nevinston; Gollancz; Ryerson Press; pp. 448. \$2.50.

SOMETIMES newspapers have among their correspondents men of real character and ability, of true education and a sense of values. When these men write of their experiences the result is of peculiar interest, for (one thinks of Lincoln Steffens and Vincent Sheean) they have had many and varied experiences, they are trained to discard the irrelevant, unlike statesmen and generals they do not write in self-defence or with reservations, unlike many writers of memoirs they can write. Nevinston is one of the best English prose writers as well as something of a poet, a generous fighter for great causes, a man of deep sensibility with a lucid and graceful style, with a thorough grasp of national and world affairs. The result is a great book.

Like Odysseus of old "he has seen the lands of many men and understood their minds". He was in the Greek war of 1897, in the Boer war at Ladysmith, in the abortive Russian revolution of 1906, in the Balkan wars; he was present at the ill-fated Dardanelles expedition. He exposed the disgraceful slavery in Portuguese West Africa (and elsewhere) shortly before the war, he was in Ireland continually and especially under the tyranny of the Black and Tans—perhaps the most revolting episode of recent English history. He was in the thick of the Suffragette movement. He was here, there and everywhere, and everywhere he takes us with him, showing us the land, for he has a delicate appreciation of natural beauty, the events and the purposes behind them. Above all the men and women who played their part in these events, for his pen-portraits are magnificent. We see in a piercingly clear light, if only for a moment, all kinds of journalists and editors, generals, statesmen, poets, novelists, Irish patriots, suffragettes, Turkish officials and Greek rebels, slave owners and every type of human, many whose names are known to all, some obscure, but all vivid and alive.

There is little, very little, about the author's private life and that little only mentioned if essential. Here is a man to whom the public good is the very breath of life and his own successes, failures or ailments only of minor interest. As he witnessed, over the last fifty years, many most important events, his book is in a sense a panorama of recent English history. And certainly the reader will gain from it a more genuine and reliable understanding of that history than he can get from more formal and complete text-books. But that is as nothing compared (to quote Masefield's introduction) to "the charm, the wit and the graceful irony, which make this book so delightful and will make it memorable in time to come."

—G. M. A. GRUBE.

DEAD CENTRE: Arthur Calder-Marshall; Jonathan Cape-Nelson; pp. 287. \$2.00.

THE best description of this book's contents is inside the jacket: "It is . . . a camera-record of conditions arising naturally from the mode of life engendered by boarding-school education."

The literature on English Public Schools from Tom Brown to Young Woodley has grown increas-

ingly depressing and with Dead Centre the conditions pictured approach the nadir of unmorality. If what Mr. Calder-Marshall has to say is true this appalling lack of moral direction is the responsibility of no one individual but of that ever present whipping-boy, the system. This seems logical as it is beyond fantasy to suppose that the Public Schools act as a magnet for the more vicious elements of society. But, on the other hand, if the scions of the upper and upper-middle classes are being educated solely in a system of this type and their parents tolerate it, for they cannot be ignorant of it, surely they bear the responsibility for the system. At any rate it is clear that the masters suffer from the conditions fully as much as the boys.

Mr. Calder-Marshall writes extremely well. The crisp soliloquies he employs to tell his story are, in one or two instances, masterpieces of telling brevity. He has anger, pity and sympathy unclouded by bitterness or sentiment.

—E. G.

THE LETTERS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT, 1825-1826: Edited by H. J. C. Grierson; London, Constable & Co., Ltd., 1935.

THE present volume is the ninth in the great edition of Scott's letters which Professor Grierson is editing. It covers a period extending from February 1825, to April 1826, and includes one hundred and ninety letters never before printed and eighty-five previously printed. The period of Scott's life which they illustrate has a peculiar unity of its own, reminding one irresistibly of the renaissance conception of tragedy: it opens in sunshine and serenity but closes in almost unrelieved gloom. In February 1825 Walter Scott, the younger, has just been married to a charming girl who is also a great heiress, and not long afterward the young couple proceed to Dublin, where Walter's regiment is stationed. Charles, the second son, is a student at Oxford. Sir Walter, throughout the year, meditates adding to his great estate by the purchase of one more property. During the summer he visits Ireland, and delights in the society of his children and in playing the role of lion. In October, Lockhart becomes the editor of the Quarterly Review, and the cup of Scott's happiness seems to be overflowing.

And then very gradually the financial catastrophe began to define itself with ever growing distinctness until in February he knew that it was overwhelming. In March he learned that his darling grandchild, Johnny Lockhart, could not live long. By the end of the month Lady Scott's fatal illness had begun. The story of Scott's proud stoicism in facing disaster need not be rehearsed here. He would receive help from no one. He wrote for incredible hours per day on Woodstock, and Napoleon—to earn money for his creditors. On the death of an old friend he wrote: "As for me, I think the world is gliding from under my feet."

For many a lad I loved is dead,
And many a lass grown old;
And when I think on those are fled
My weary heart grows cold.

But this has been, will be, and must be."

All lovers of Scott owe Professor Grierson a great debt of gratitude.

—M. W. WALLACE.

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